

the "Scandinavian" "Neptune" Clubs." Recently shipowners complained of systematic obstruction and sabotage of shipments to Britain. I should not be in the least surprised if Hagler is at the bottom of the trouble.

The waterfront is always the first object of Communist attention. It was there that Mink began his career as an agent. After his transfer to jobs in other countries, his place on the American waterfront was taken by Tom Ray, who is now a power in the maritime union. As far back as May 20, 1932, this Tom Ray discoursed in Hamburg at a Communist world congress of seamen, on the technique of stopping war transports.

### Thousands of Agents Do Kremlin's Bidding

Not all of Stalin's dirty work abroad is done by the OGPU. There are also, as I have already indicated, the Comintern agents and the military espionage.

All three work independently, but the OGPU has the right to draw on the other two services if it needs them. Taken together, these services have literally thousands of agents all over the world, in what is without doubt the most extensive network of the sort in all history.

The functions of the military wing are obvious. Those of the Comintern agents are more specialized. Their primary task is to keep the national branches of the Communist International under Moscow's constant vigilance and control.

Comintern agents—"instructors" is the technical term which we need—are stationed in every Communist party and have more power than supposed leaders like Browder or Foster.

Some of them are known to the top party leaders, others act like rank-and-file members and do not reveal themselves. Not only the party but the stooge organizations under its dominance have Comintern agents in them, usually drawn from the local population.

Comintern "instructors" have been active in America, from the League for Peace and Democracy, the American Youth Congress, and so on.

### Recruit New Spies in U. S. Red Party

The great reservoir of "talent" in America, as in other countries, is the Communist Party. All three of Moscow's espionage services keep an eye out for likely material. When a young man shows exceptional zeal and courage he may get the "call."

He is made to feel that he is among the select, summoned to serve and to sacrifice, and made to better stuff than the run-of-the-mill comrades. The double appeal to pride and to ideals usually works.

If selected, he is normally instructed to break relations with the Communist Party, or even to disappear for a period. His effects may send him to another country or another part of America.

Often, unless the candidate is needed for some immediate task, he is sent to one or another of the Moscow schools for professional revolutionaries.

Murder is among chores that fall to all three of the services. But the OGPU doubtless has the largest share of such chores.

### Stalin 'Executions' Extend to Foreign Soil

Every pore inside Russia has its parallel purging of foreign Communists and of Soviet func-

tionaries. It is a standard procedure, entrusted to the most experienced hands. Yet they have fumbled again and again, and there have been mistakes. In France, on several occasions, Soviet agents were caught red-handed. Despite that, the abduction of White Russian leaders—General Miller and General Koutopov, for instance—went on merrily.

One of the familiar methods, as disclosed during a trial of Moscow agents in Paris, was to put the victims in barrels or packing cases and smuggle them aboard Soviet ships as "freight."

Naturally, murder on foreign soil is resorted to only when it is not feasible to lure or kidnap the appointed victim for handling in Moscow. Since I am a sailor by training, and almost by birth, I have had an intimate connection with the kidnaping phase of Stalin's "murder international."

In fact, I was myself held incommunicado under guard outside Copenhagen, while my captors waited for a Soviet ship. Readers of "Out of the Night" know how I got away.

### Lists 'Kidnap Ships' And Ports of Call

Among the kidnap ships, known in the ports of the world simply as Soviet freighters or passenger vessels, were the SS. Felix Dzerzhinsky, the Smolny, the Max Hoeltz, the Jan Rutskak; also the SS. Dekabrist, which plied out of Vladivostok.

Perhaps the worst of the kidnap ships, which used to operate between London and Leningrad, making stops at Hamburg, was called "Kooperatya," meaning Cooperation. It was accident, not irony.

The SS. Nere, a Soviet ship which made stops at Spanish ports, had the honor of carrying on kidnap duty for one of the most powerful Communist "instructors" in Europe.

When he refused, he was simply kidnaped, packed aboard the Nere and landed at Odessa. Then thereafter he was shot, along with other German Communists who had fallen into disgrace in Stalin's eyes.

It is my guess that Julia Stuart Poyntz, the American agent, who disappeared from her room at the American Woman's Association in the summer of 1937, was kidnaped and shipped to Russia.

### Trotsky's Children Killed in Revenge

It is by this time known that an OGPU man named Epstein, and also using the name Joseph Berenson, had been friendly with her and was the last person to have been in touch with her.

I suspect that a check-up on Soviet ships which left New York after her disappearance would reveal the vessel on which she was spirited in her fate.

I shall not repeat the well-known tales of OGPU vengeance. The harrowing tale of how Trotsky's children were killed off, one by one, and how finally, in a

second attempt, he was himself murdered is fresh in the memory.

World-wide notoriety has also been given to the murder, in Switzerland, of Ignace Reiss, an old Bolshevik and an OGPU official, after he resigned on account of the blood purges in Russia.

But for wholesale assassination, nothing can compare with the OGPU blood-holiday in Loyalist Spain. While the armies tried to kill Franco followers, the OGPU rounded up and literally slaughtered hundreds, then thousands, of Loyalists who for various reasons

were undesirable to the Communists.

The OGPU had its own special and extra-legal prisons, third-degree chambers, executioners.

Among the better known victims were Andres Nin; Camillo Berneri; Bob Smillie, a British radical who went to Spain as a volunteer; Giovanni Barbieri, leader of the Loyalist militia; Alfredo Martinez, leader of the Spanish Youth Front.

All of them, of course, were anti-Franco, but their crime was that

they did not play the game, the Communists who ran the Loyalist show after the first year.

### Communist Zealots' Life-Expectancy Short

It is an endless story of blunders, letting for Stalin's cause by adding up to a Communist "policemen" and executioners are simply hired specialists, or caught in the web

intrigue by their love of excitement.

But most of them are convinced, at least at the outset, that they are laboring for a great cause. In every country there are young men and women, aflame with Communist zeal, pathetically ignorant of what Stalin's government is really like.

They make fine material for the Moscow Murder International. Once in the toils of the complex system, their span of life-expectancy is extremely small. If they

survive the hazards of their assignments, they are likely sooner or later to be subject to "purging."

Only a few can succeed in breaking away, and those live forever under the shadow of that long hairy arm with a gun in its hand, stretching out from the Kremlin.

Such, in a haphazard and sketchy way, is the amazing network of spies, killers, kidnapers, saboteurs spread over the world, its every strand controlled by Moscow.

The United States is just now

crawling with such people. The tragedy of General Krivitsky's death is merely an episode in the long story of Stalin's political crimes.

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Foxworth	.....
Mr. Nathan	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. London	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

*Handwritten signature/initials over the routing slip.*

# OGPU Spy Hunt Started By Dies Agents

Dr. James B. Matthews, Dies Committee research director, yesterday said he "hoped" by the first of next week to have rounded up enough agents of the Russian secret police in this country to develop, through questioning, a detailed "picture" of OGPU methods.

He said committee investigators are now searching for Soviet agents and that he "hoped" they would find the mysterious "Hana," master spy who, according to friends of Gen. Walter O. Krivitsky, entered the United States with a mission to assassinate the former official of the Soviet military intelligence.

Krivitsky was found shot to death in his room in the Bellevue Hotel here Monday.

Matthews emphasized that the committee's attempted spy hunt was not intended specifically as an investigation of the Krivitsky case, closed by Washington police as a suicide. He said that if the agents were found there would be no public hearing but that they would be brought to Washington for questioning.

Matthews declined to disclose where the spy hunt is being conducted except to say that the search is being made in the East.

At 11:30 a. m. yesterday Dr. A. Magruder MacDonald, the District coroner, swore in a jury over Krivitsky's body. The action officially recorded the case as a suicide but at the same time created an inquest jury that would be legally constituted to hear additional evidence if any should be uncovered. Named to the jury were L. B. Souder, Harold J. Smith, H. C. Adler, J. H. O'Neil, P. Gilbert Breen and F. J. A. Bennett.

Krivitsky's body was released shortly after noon to the John R. Wright funeral home. It was shipped at 4:30 p. m. to the Fairchild & Sons funeral home in New York. The funeral will be private.

WASHINGTON POST

FEB 14 1941

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Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Foxworth  
Mr. Nathan  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Nease  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Harbo  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Holloman  
Miss Gandy

*Handwritten signature/initials*

# FBI Secretly Probing Case Of Krivitsky

A lengthy statement on current Soviet spy activities in the United States, secretly turned over to authorities by Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky several days before he was found dead in Washington, has caused the Federal Bureau of Investigation to open its own inquiry into the mysterious case.

This will probably be denied, but was learned here yesterday from excellent authority an hour after a coroner's jury in the capital, acting on the available circumstantial evidence, certified Krivitsky a suicide and released the body to the widow, Mrs. Tatiana Krivitsky.

The body arrived in New York at 8:52 last night, in a casket tagged "Samuel Ginsberg"—the name to which the one-time Soviet general was born in Russia 41 years ago. There were no friends, no members of Krivitsky's family on hand.

Later the body was sent to the Fairchild and Sons undertaking parlor at 86 Lefferts Pl., Brooklyn.

G-men issued no official statement on their about-face decision to enter the case. Shortly after Krivitsky was found in his Washington hotel room Monday, a .38 calibre gun next his head, a bullet in his brain, the FBI declared it had no jurisdiction or interest.

Technically, the FBI investigation will not concern itself with the death. It is designed to uncover and record every move made by Krivitsky, whether for or against the United States.

This, it was learned, is the result of a careful study, just completed, of the last report Krivitsky made on his work in unmasking agents of the international machine in which he was once an important cog. With the report, Krivitsky turned in a wealth of documentary evidence, the very nature of which requires investigation.

Louis Waldman, attorney for the late spy-hunter, conferred with Mrs. Krivitsky yesterday and announced that, after renewed study of the notes left by her husband, she is more firmly convinced he had been under compulsion.

CLIPPING FROM THE NEW YORK DAILY MIRROR

DATE FEB 14 1941

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Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Foxworth	.....
Mr. Nathan	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Hendon	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

*W. J. [unclear]*

## Krivitsky's Body Cremated in N. Y.

New York, Feb. 14 (AP).—In the presence of only a dozen persons—including his widow, Tanya—the body of Walter G. Krivitsky, who was found shot to death Monday in his Washington hotel room, was cremated today.

There were no funeral services for the man whose death brought charges that he had been "hounded and hounded" by Soviet secret agents. Officially, his death was listed as a suicide.

WASHINGTON POST

FEB 15 1941

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# Scotland Yard Ex-Aide Tells of Ism Spies

Col. Palmer Calls  
Krivitsky Victim  
Of Soviet Terror

A horde of ruthless Communist, Nazi and Japanese agents is operating throughout the United States, according to a statement today by Col. Casimir Pilenas Palmer, London investigator for Scotland Yard.

In an interview with a New York Journal and American representative at his apartment, 140 W. 105th st., Col. Palmer declared:

"General Walter G. Krivitsky may be a suicide as reported. But there is no question in my mind as to how it happened—he was driven to his act.

## 'HAS MANY SECRETS.'

"Russia will let no man live who has vital information. The Soviet Government has many secrets it wants to keep, and it lives in great fear that former agents may reveal these secrets to other governments.

"The more accurate statement is, of course, that there are no former agents of the OGPU. They are either kidnaped and returned to Moscow to their doom, or they are liquidated wherever they are found."

Col. Palmer, who for 22 years served with the British Secret Service, and for two years with the U. S. Army Intelligence, added:

"As one illustration of the Soviet methods — on Jan. 16 last, a man came to my home, introducing himself as A. Walter.

## "RECOGNIZED HIM."

"Though I had never met him before, I recognized him as Albert Walter, who receives thousands of dollars weekly from Russia for subversive work among seamen's unions. He is a German and has the guttural accent.

"He said he was an agent for the U. S. Navy Intelligence, and asked me for the whereabouts of a German captain who had been involved in the Black Tom explosion."

(Col. Palmer served as investigator for the U. S. Mixed Claims Commission that adjudicated the Black Tom claim against the German Government. He was, incidentally, one time chief of the Lithuanian Military Intelligence, and has important connections in all parts of the world.

Wondering at the audacity of the man, Col. Palmer asked to see his credentials. The visitor rose silently, took his coat and strode out of the apartment.

## SPURN MOSCOW SUMMONS.

Further illustrating Soviet methods, Col. Palmer told of a party of seven men, one a former vice-president of Amtorg, who had been to Russia and returned with special tasks assigned. One in particular had received a good deal of confidential information, directly from Stalin.

In a short while, several of them were "invited" to go back to Moscow. But they dreaded the summons; and they did not obey it.

As for the kidnaping of victims, Col. Palmer recalled the terror that swept over White Russian emigres in Paris when in 1935-6 two former Imperial Generals, Kutypoff and Miller, were snatched off the streets of Paris and returned to Moscow for the executioner.

Gen. Kutypoff had been in charge of anti-Soviet propaganda. ~~White-Gen. Miller was head of the~~ White Russian Officers' Society.

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*CW*

Ray Krone

## Friends Continue Krivitsky Inquiry

Unofficial inquiry continued today into the death by shooting of General aWlter G. Krivitsky last Monday in a Washington hotel.

Friends of the one-time chief of Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe scanned every bit of evidence, dubious of the suicide verdict returned after a three-day coroner's inquest.

Krivitsky's body was cremated yesterday, in a coffin marked with his real name, "Samuel Ginsberg," at Fresh Pond Crematory in Massapequa. Those present included his widow, Mrs. Tanya Krivitsky, and his attorney, Louis Waldman.

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# TELLS OGPU HOUNDING

BY JAMES I. KILGALLAN  
International News Service Staff  
Correspondent

MIAMI, Fla., Feb. 15.—A young woman artist—Miss Marie Mitchell—who has read of the Gen. Krivitsky case, told a remarkable story today of how the Stalinist wing of the Communist party "hounded" her while working on a WPA art project in New York City and eventually forced her to flee in terror to Florida.

Her story sounded like a fictional tale of the OGPU (Russian secret police now known as NKVD), but she was quite factual about it.

She wished to testify before the Dies committee but didn't get the chance. That was one of the things, she said, that put her on the Communist blacklist.

The Krivitsky case brought her story to light today.

## KRIVITSKY HOUNDED TOO.

(Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky, former Soviet spy, was found shot to death last Monday in a hotel. Whether it was murder or suicide is debatable but Krivitsky's attorney Louis Waldman, said "the OGPU is responsible for his death.")

Miss Mitchell, about 30, was born in New York City. Her parents are dead. Her father, Martin Michelaka, was born in Russia.

The girl artist said she was an employe at the WPA art project in New York from 1936 until 1939. There were few communists on the project when she started to work but eventually, she asserted, they dominated it. She stated:

"Within a year, all executive and administrative positions were held by communists."

The man who headed her department had been a member of the communist party for 15 years and had organized units all over the country. We shall call him Mr. Blank.

Miss Mitchell had a girl friend, whom we shall call Peggy.

## FRIEND A RED.

Peggy and Mr. Blank were close friends. Peggy was a communist, too, one of the "inner circle."

The communists established an Artists' Union at the project. It was a "front" for the communist party. Artists were forced by threats of lay-offs or discharge to join, so Miss Mitchell said. The Union, she said, was affiliated with the CIO.

A girl on the project, which had 1,000 employes, objected to the communistic activities and wrote a letter to Harry I. Hopkins, then WPA head. Miss Mitchell thinks he never received it because the letter came back to Mr. Blank. Mr. Blank showed it to Peggy. The girl who wrote the letter was fired.

When the Dies committee began functioning in its investigations several men at the project testified. They were waylaid and beaten.

## RAILROADED TO HOSPITAL.

Miss Mitchell relates:  
"I wanted to testify before the Dies committee. Peggy and I quarreled."

"The next thing I know, I was railroaded into the psychopathic ward of Bellevue hospital and kept there two days in February, 1938."

"I was scared to death and felt hounded."

"When I got out, a man tried to get into my apartment to talk to me. I barricaded the door."

"The Dies committee was short of funds and was not taking testimony for two weeks. What to do for two weeks? I felt I was being followed."

"Frightened out of my wits, I fled to New York and came to Miami."

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tracy
- Miss Gandy

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THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

2-15-41



**"Liquidated" by the Red Terror**

## ***Krivitsky's Dramatic Career Comes to Shadowy End Here***

By Edward T. Folliard  
*Post Staff Writer*

The Stalin terror finally liquidated Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky last week.

The nervous, furtive-eyed little man, who consorted with Moscow spies and assassins for 17 years and tried to dodge them for the last four, reached the end of his shadowy road here in Washington.

Regardless of the suicide certificate issued here by Coroner A. Magruder MacDonald, one thing seems fairly certain: In the Kremlin, the name of Krivitsky will take its place on Josef Stalin's "purge" roster, a roster that contains the names of 35,000 murdered Red army victims alone, not to mention the 400,000 persons jailed and exiled.

The bloody Russian dictator must have wanted Krivitsky's liquidation very much, for the former Red army intelligence officer was a dangerous and effective man—far more so than the thousands who made their fantastic "confessions" and marched before the firing squads in the old country. How Krivitsky was liquidated probably was unimportant.



GEN. WALTER G. KRIVITSKY

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## Loyalists Slaughtered Behind Lines by Reds in Spain, Ex-Agent Charges



It is reported that there was talk about Khrushchev's resignation and the war. A "bullet" was sent from the military zone a week ago. The East and the West are looking for a way to end the war.

[illegible]

The OGPU had its own special and extra-legal police, which

too quickly for the trickle of blood to reach them. Is it not possible that another person "stage-set" the scene after the "suicide" was over?

3. Krivitsky was last seen by a bellboy who brought him a bottle of water, at 6:30 in the evening. His body was found about 15 hours later. He had been dead perhaps four, at most five, hours. There was therefore an interval of some 10 hours that is unaccounted for. Hotel employees were not in a position to know whether anyone had come into the room and left it again. There was time enough for long bargaining, arrangement of details and unhurried work by any intruder.

4. The first rule among men in espionage service is to protect their friends in case of trouble. Yet Krivitsky seems deliberately, in his last notes, to have dragged his best friends into the mess unnecessarily. He not only wrote to Suzanne LaFollette—a note that said nothing and served no purpose—but even mentioned her relatives in the postscript. And he mentioned the Doberts, writing in their name in a postscript, between the lines, like an after-thought. Why?

### U. S. Now Main Center of Soviet Assassins

No matter how this case ends—and personally I am sure that it offers the Government a chance to trace and corner some of Stalin's most active agents—it should make the American people aware of the fact that America is today the main center of Soviet killers and spies.

The war has barred so many countries to them, and American affairs are so important to Stalin and to his Nazi partner, that it offers the most fruitful area for active effort.

I believe that the Kremlin agents now in the United States and Mexico, operating in close contact, can be counted by the score if not the hundred. New York is an obvious concentration point for them, surpassed only by San Francisco.

Soviet ships are, in the final analysis, the most important connecting elements for the extensive network; where the Soviet ships make harbor, there is reason to look for conspirative centers.

San Francisco, more than any other city in the Western Hemisphere,

forgets?

On the basis of strong circumstantial evidence, I believe that George Hagner is still here. He was sent to the United States by the Comintern in 1937 to take charge of Moscow's activities on the waterfront.

In particular, he took in hand the "Scandinavian Seamen's Clubs." Recently shipowners complained of systematic obstruction and sabotage of shipments to Britain. I should not be in the least surprised if Hagner is at the bottom of the trouble.

### Thousands of Agents Do Kremlin's Bidding

The waterfront is always the first object of Communist attention. It was there that Mink began his career as an agent. After his transfer to jobs in other countries, his place on the American waterfront was taken by Tom Ray, who is now a power in the maritime union. As far back as May 20, 1932, this Tom Ray discoursed, in Hamburg at a Communist world congress of seamen, on the technique of stopping war transports.

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keep all the time for the material. When a young man shows exceptional zeal and courage he may get the "call."

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Murder is among chores that fall to all three of the services. But the OGPU doubtless has the largest share of such chores.

Every purge inside Russia has its parallel purging of foreign Communists and of Soviet functionaries and spies abroad. That means, in effect, that Stalin carries out "executions" of his enemies or suspected "renegades" on foreign soil.

It is a delicate and dangerous procedure, entrusted only to the most experienced hands.

Yet they have fumbled again and again, and there have been scandals. In France, on several occasions, Soviet agents were caught red-handed. Despite that, the abduction of White Russian leaders—General Miller and General Koutopov, for instance—went on merrily.

One of the familiar methods, as disclosed during a trial of Moscow agents in Paris, was to put the victims in barrels or packing cases and smuggle them aboard Soviet ships as "freight."

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Among the better known victims were Andres Nin; Camillo Berneri; Bob Smilie, a British radical who went to Spain as a volunteer; Giovanni Barbieri, leader of the Loyalist militia; Alfredo Martinez, leader of the Spanish Youth Front.

All of them, of course, were anti-Franco, but their crime was that they did not play the game with the Communists who ran the Loyalist show after the first year.

It is an endless story of blood letting for Stalin's cause by who adds up to a Communist "police force" on an international scale.

### Life of Soviet Agent Short and Unhappy

The United States is just no crawling with such people. The tragedy of General Krivitsky's death is merely an episode in the long story of Stalin's political crimes.

Some of the "policemen" and executioners are simply hired specialists, or caught in the web of intrigue by their love of excitement.

But most of them are convinced at least at the outset, that they are laboring for a great cause. In every country there are young men and women, aflame with Communist zeal, pathetically ignorant of what Stalin's government really like.

They make fine material for Moscow Murder International. Once in the tolls of the camp system, their span of life-expectancy is extremely small. If they survive the hazards of their assignments, they are likely soon or later to be subject to "ping."

Only a few can succeed breaking away, and those live ever under the shadow of a long hairy arm with a gun in hand, stretching out from Kremlin.

Such, in a haphazard sketchy way, is the amazing work of spies, killers, kidnap saboteurs spread over the whole of every strand controlled Moscow.

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AND  
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# OGPU Had Three Motives

## Stalin's Mystery Ships Bear Foes to Russia for Torture and Death

Continued From First Page.

few more general considerations which are essential to an understanding of this case.

The first of these is that murder disguised as suicide is a procedure thoroughly familiar to every active agent of the OGPU.

Any number of deaths inscribed on the official records of Paris, Bucharest, pre-Nazi Berlin as routine self-destruction were in reality subtly camouflaged assassinations. In the case of a secondary and unknown victim the trick works more often than not. It is only the prominence of Krivitsky, after all, which is forcing a closer examination.

Krivitsky himself, of course, was fully aware of this standardized Soviet method of assassination—a method used also by other totalitarian killers.

That was why he warned his wife, his friends, and even a member of the Dies committee, over and over again, not to believe it if he should die under circumstances that look like genuine suicide.

### Cites Hitler Purge of Capt. Roehm in 1934

Another OGPU technique which I know only too well is what has been described as "forced suicide." I am aware that to the average American, including American police officers, that sounds too melodramatic for belief.

To those of us who have lived close to the fantastic drama of

### Bridges Puts Up Deportation Bail

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 15.—(I.N.S.)—Formalities of arrest and posting of bail were complete today in the government's new deportation case against Harry Bridges, west coast waterfront labor leader.

Immigration Inspector Earl A. Cushing served the warrant at the same time Richard Gladstein, attorney for Bridges, handed Cushing an order for \$2,000 in government bonds drawn by a bail brokerage firm.

political warfare and vengeance in Europe in the last twenty years, it sounds not only credible but like ordinary routine.

Everyone remembers some of the blood-curdling incidents in the notorious purge in Nazi Germany in June, 1934.

Adolf Hitler personally, it was reliably attested, ordered his former friend and lieutenant, Capt. Roehm, to commit suicide right there and then. When Roehm couldn't bring himself to it, Hitler had one of his gunmen do the job.

The same method of induced self-annihilation marked the end of other blacklisted leaders.

But no one has surpassed the Communists in the application of

this sinister form of murder with the victim's own hand. In connection with Joseph Stalin's great blood purges of recent years, there were hundreds of suicides. Only the politically naive will believe that they were all voluntary.

We cannot know how many of them consented to kill themselves at one blow as the alternative to death by slow torture at the hands of sadistic executioners.

There is every reason to suspect, at least, that prominent Bolsheviks like Michael Tomsky, General Gamarnik and other alleged suicides ended their own lives as the price for saving the lives of people dear to them.

### Suggests Krivitsky Feared Torture of Kin

Imagine a man like Krivitsky, passionately attached to his wife and his 7-year-old son, given the choice between killing himself and having his family packed off to Russia for torture by the kidnapping route which so many others had traveled before them.

This is purely speculative. But I happen to know that such things have happened elsewhere in these cruel years. Suppose that Krivitsky had been confronted with a threat to his loved ones—backed up by a frantic note from his wife asking him to save her and their son. The forging of such a note, of course, is child's play to the experts on Stalin's foreign police force.

Even if the hand that wrote the farewell notes and the finger that pulled the trigger of the revolver were Krivitsky's, the possibility of a deal under duress is decidedly not eliminated. Those notes sound phony to me. They contain just the sort of trivia a clever agent, having familiarized himself with the domestic life of the victim, would dictate.

But they are unorganized, explain nothing, each of them with a postscript, and the whole set is in the one of a distressed youngster rather than a mature, intelligent man with the background of adventure and power.

### Self Destruction Not in Code of Character

There is the matter of motive. It is not the motive of a man who is being forced to choose between the death of himself and the death of his family.



GEN. WAI  
Myster

Krivitsky. The OGPU knows enough that he had not everything and that he was going to write another book.

It was aware that Krivitsky, operating with the Soviet British Intelligence, would to identify important agents and control Russian propaganda.

Finally, the motive is not the motive of a man who is being forced to choose between the death of himself and the death of his family.

The Chicago American

100-1146-A

2-16-41

## Nazis and Reds Alike Could Wish Him Dead

Nor must we overlook the fact that two nations, not merely one, had a keen desire to eliminate the man. Whatever the political and military relations between Germany and Russia may be, there certainly is extensive co-operation between their foreign espionage systems.

Krivitsky had made a secret trip to London to give information to the British. The fact that the British were urging him to return to prove that his contribution to Germany's enemy was valuable. The Gestapo therefore had every reason to give the OGPU a helping hand on his job.

The best espionage and original brains of both Hitler's and Stalin's Secret Services were pitted against this one man in a foreign country.

What is more, neither of them had any desire to commit suicide openly—American public opinion is too important in the current world affairs just now for that.

## Reds Try to Sidetrack Murder Suspicion

A "forced suicide" would serve their purposes perfectly. The earnestness of Communists to meet the charges and suspicions of murder in this case is only natural.

The most extraordinary aspect of Krivitsky's death appeared in a newspaper of "yellow travel" tendencies. Throughout the account there were telltale phrases the sort one normally finds in that fashion only in Communist papers like the Daily Worker. But the opening paragraph seemed to me too raw to be a purely accidental.

It told how the colored man at the Washington hotel knocked Krivitsky's door and got no answer. Then, it says, "she" gave her pass key and opened the door was bolted on the other whereupon, frightened and phoned to the desk clerk.

All other newsagents agreed that the mail's postman had opened the door, and she called for help only after she saw the body.

## Points to 'Loose Ends of Death Mystery'

Whether the door was  
from within or merely chance  
a pass key is of endless im-  
tance. Misadventure at  
particular point, with  
with the time of the day  
indicates the place and  
to break some of the  
"forced" outside doors  
can trying to enter.  
Those responsible for the  
death have to persuade  
that the door was not  
one to enter the house.

It happens that all the people  
troubled with similar problems

# Hounded From Jobs by WPA Reds, Two Charge

By WILLIAM HENDERSON.

Two Americans, dismissed from their WPA jobs, yesterday made the "incredible" Krivitsky case believable by telling what allegedly happened to them when they refused to serve the objectives either of Stalin or Hitler while trying to make a living.

One of them, Miss Marie Mitchell, a young artist told a remarkable story of how terroristic methods of the OGPU pattern—which hounded Krivitsky, too—had forced her to flee this city to Florida.

The other, Frank Lee, World War veteran, related his alleged experiences after falling into disfavor with both the Nazis and Communists, both represented in key jobs in the Workers Alliance, which, according to recent court testimony, dominates welfare work here.

## Hears Nazis Praised

Lee, living with his wife at 500 W. 169th St., climaxed his story with the declaration that his former superior in the WPA, still an executive in that body, told him with emphasis:

"We need a swastika in this country. There is nothing good without a German brand."

Lee, having borne arms for democracy across the seas, and true to America's colors, protested—and found himself in double jeopardy, he says, because he had already refused to become a member of the Workers Alliance.

He says he was dismissed from the WPA after four years of service—but that isn't the end.

He says he found employment as assistant manager of a midtown bar and grill (the Metropole, 48th St. and 7th Ave.) and that after he was there only a week, the manager told him:

"Your work is fine, but we have received information from your last job (with the WPA)

which makes it impossible for me to keep you. These people are in a position to make trouble for us, and we can't afford that. So you'll have to go."

## Discharged Again

Lee, who has his wife and a young son of his sister to support, got another job with a big midtown restaurant (Diamond Jim Brady, Broadway and 42nd St.), and held it three weeks.

Then the manager told him: "I like your appearance, and I like your work. But I find it impossible to keep you, because I might get into trouble if I do."

Lee's story is that he served the WPA for four years as a technician, having supervision of the manufacture of school furniture.

"A few weeks before I received a slip last August stating a reduction in force was necessary and I was being

dropped, a Communist member of the Alliance told me I would be helping myself if I joined the organization," the World War veteran said.

"I replied: 'I'm working for the Federal Government and I have no right to belong.' His answer was: 'Then we'll get rid of you eventually, veteran or no veteran.'"

Lee added there were 25 technicians in his group, and he was the only one of American birth. The others were chiefly Slavs, Germans, Italians—"all kinds."

"One day the men were making some furniture for a school," Lee went on. "There were several wooden crosspieces, resembling a swastika. The German supervisor over me pointed to them and said, 'That's the kind of flag we need.'"

The veteran identified this

100-11146-A

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NEW YORK DAILY MIRROR

DATE FEB 16 1941

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superior by name and also another Nazi, who told him:

"The Nazis are the best people on earth. Your children are not properly trained in American schools. Only the Nazis can teach children proper knowledge and precision."

As proof that there had been no complaint against his work until he fell into disfavor with the Reds and the Nazis, Lee quoted from his monthly rating cards.

Two of these were marked "excellent," one "good," and the fourth "fair." The latest marking came after he refused to join the Alliance, he said.

Miss Mitchel told her story in a small home in Miami, where she is living alone. Her parents are dead. Her father, Martin Michelska, was born in Russia, her mother in New Jersey. Her mother's parents were Lithuanians.

She said she had been employed at the WPA Art Project here from 1936 until 1939. There were few Communists on the staff when she started, but "wormed in," and within a "all executive and administrative positions were held by them."

The Communists established an artists' union at the project party front. Artists were fired by threats or lay-offs to join she did. But she didn't like union assessments for Spanish Loyalists, for cable to Russia, etc., and she quit.

"I wanted to testify before Dies Committee," she said. The next thing I knew, I was loaded into the psych ward of Bellevue Hospital. was Jan. 30, 1939, and I was there two days.

"When I got out, and was home in Greenwich Village, a man tried to force his way into my apartment. Frightened, New York, came here and work for the Fleisher studio."



# Krivitsky, Stalin Foe, Shot Dead Here

Ex-Soviet Spy Assassinated —  
By OGPU, Attorney Claims;  
Suicide Certificate Withheld



General Krivitsky (left), former Soviet spy, and Louis Waldman, attorney for the Russian general, are shown in this photo.

Russian General Came  
To Capital Seeking  
Haven, Says Lawyer

By FRASER EDWARDS

Hounded by the dreaded Soviet OGPU for exposing secrets of the Stalin regime, Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky, erstwhile chief of the Russian military intelligence service for Western Europe, was found shot to death yesterday in the Bellevue Hotel, off Union Station Plaza, under circumstances which caused Coroner A. Magruder MacDonald to withhold a certificate of suicide.

Although the coroner had prepared a suicide certificate and Police Inspector Bernard W. Thompson, after a careful examination of the fifth floor hotel room where Krivitsky died, said "It looks like suicide," Louis Waldman, of New York, attorney for the Russian general, charged his client "definitely was not a suicide."

Believed Victim of OGPU

Waldman expressed the belief the mysterious figure of Russian secret service work was the victim of the OGPU. He said Krivitsky was a victim of the OGPU.

The photo was taken in the hotel room where Krivitsky was found dead. Waldman is seen on the right, and Krivitsky on the left. The photo was taken by a reporter for the New York Times.

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NOT RECORDED 1146

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A good many things indicated that Krivitsky committed suicide in the Bellevue Hotel here: the locked room, the temple wound, the .38 automatic, and the three farewell notes.

There was nothing, however, to indicate that he wanted to die, nothing that suggested any of the commonplace motives for suicide—ill health, money troubles, or romantic difficulties.

"I want to live very badly," he said in his note to Tanya, his wife, and Alek, his 7-year-old son, "but it is impossible."

WHY WAS IT impossible? Was he afraid of Hans B., the "Red Judas," the Stalin trigger-man, who recently arrived in New York? Had four years of dread, of dodging the terror, driven him to the point where he preferred death to such a haunted life?

Some of his friends didn't think so. Boris Shub, who served as Krivitsky's interpreter before the Dies Committee and helped him with some of his magazine articles, sought to explode that theory in these words:

"If Krivitsky had decided to die, he could have done it much better and more easily by going into service with the British intelligence. I know for a fact that he had received an offer from the British but turned it down. He was the sort of man who would have preferred a useful death."

What then could have moved this man who is said to have borne a "fanatical" love for his wife and boy, who is reputed to have received \$25,000 for his Saturday Evening Post articles—what could have moved him to buy a gun in Charlottesville, Va., register in a

Washington hotel, and destroy himself?

THE ANSWER, according to men who know Soviet Russia and its dread OGPU, is that Stalin's agents made a "deal" with Krivitsky. If Krivitsky, one-time Red army chief of intelligence for western Europe and twice decorated for espionage work, would kill himself, all would be well; if he refused, then vengeance would be visited on his wife and boy—his "Dear Tanya" and his "Dear Alek."

If Krivitsky would agree to kill himself, of course, the men assigned to get him could truly boast of having committed the "perfect crime." They would be guilty of threats, yes, but the man to whom they made the threats would be dead.

TO A NATIVE-BORN American, reared in an atmosphere of law and order, such dreadful business must seem fantastic. Why couldn't Krivitsky tell the police? Why couldn't he ask for protection?

Krivitsky gave the answer himself when he was here testifying before the Dies Committee, telling how Stalin had agents in the United States Army and Navy, and giving other explosive testimony. The committee ordered a bodyguard for Krivitsky, but he declined, saying:

"They (the OGPU) never forget. If I had a hundred bodyguards, they would still get me."

"GEN. KRIVITSKY, you are Schmucka Ginsburg," raged the New Masses when his articles began appearing in the Saturday Evening Post.

It was true that he was born Samuel Ginsburg on June 28, 1899, in the western Ukraine. He adopted the name of "Walter G. Krivitsky" when he joined the Communist Party in 1919. But the effort of the New Masses and the Daily Worker to make him out a "liar and a traitor" collapsed with a bang in the fall of 1939.

In a Saturday Evening Post article that appeared in April of that year, Krivitsky predicted that Hitler and Stalin, supposedly fierce enemies, would enter into an alliance. The Communist newspapers and magazines in this country ridiculed the article, and Earl Browder said a Soviet-Nazi accord was about as likely as his election "as president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States."

The Hitler-Stalin pact, forerunner of the European war, was announced the following August, and Krivitsky's stock soared. Krivitsky's expose of Stalin's blood purge and his inside story of Russia's ignoble role in the Spanish civil war caused much disillusionment among "fellow travelers" in the United States. The pact he had predicted drove thousands of them away from the left.

The Communist Party, no longer the lusty outfit it used to be back in the days of the Spanish civil war, will doubtless breathe easier now that Krivitsky is gone.

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Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Mr. Carson  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Gurnea  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Jones  
Mr. Mumford  
Mr. Quinn  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

**Jan Valtin Bares--**

# Stalin Terror in Krivitsky Death

Probably the most talked-of writer in America today—and a man marked for death by the Soviet Secret Police—is Jan Valtin, author of the sensational best-seller, "Out of the Night."

An ex-member of the Communist International Espionage Service, himself, he knows their ruthlessness and their determination to blot out any "ex" agent, such as was Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky, strangely dead in Washington this week. That's why Jan Valtin, who knows the ways of the OGPU and the Nazi Gestapo which apes it, hides his face from the world while masquerading under a name he frankly adapted from "Valentine."

He has emerged from seclusion briefly to write the following story exclusively for the Chicago Herald-American, in which he discusses the Krivitsky shooting and gives a terrifying glimpse of OGPU technique.

An article on Jan Valtin's book, "Out of the Night," appears in the Pictorial Review section of this edition.

BY JAN VALTIN.

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For many years I ranged all the continents and oceans as a member of Joseph Stalin's private "international police." I had unusual opportunities to learn the techniques of Soviet terror as practiced in foreign lands, as well as the psychology of OGPU operatives and other Soviet foreign agents. It is with that personal background that I approach the mysterious death by shooting of Gen. Walter Krivitsky.

With only newspaper accounts of the tragedy in Washington to go by, I would not venture a definitive judgment. Nevertheless, I feel it my duty to warn the American authorities against accepting the superficial facts as final proof of voluntary suicide. Despite appearances, I am convinced that the explanation is not so simple.

As reported in the press thus far, there are critical gaps in the

story. There are unanswered questions of motive and method. I shall indicate a few of them farther below.

If I were forced to choose among the many possibilities and theories, I should guess that there was another person present in the little hotel room when the trigger was pulled.

Let us begin by establishing a

Continued on Page 16, Column 1.

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THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

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### Ordered to Canada

Matthews said Krivitsky was ordered by the State Department to go to Canada a little more than a year ago. He was then awaiting deportation at Ellis Island and his departure and destination were kept secret at the time, due to Krivitsky's fears of OGPU agents.

Although Matthews said he understood the State Department was to permit Krivitsky to re-enter this country from Canada with the regular quota of immigrants, he had not seen Krivitsky for a year. He understood the Russian still was in Canada and had no information he was in this country.

Krivitsky, Matthews said, lived for a while in New York city at

a Riverside Drive address. That was shortly before he testified before the Dies Committee.

Matthews said he had difficulty in persuading Krivitsky to testify before the Dies Committee, before which he appeared October 11, 1939. He said he had heard Krivitsky was hiding in this country, and after several months located him in New York State about 100 miles from New York city. Matthews said he was driven secretly to the place, where Krivitsky was living with his wife and one of his children.

When the investigator urged Krivitsky to testify, the Russian said:

"As sure as I do, they'll kill me. Krivitsky came to the United States about three years ago after he had been expelled from the Communist party and lost his Soviet citizenship following a break with Stalin, whom he had served as chief of the secret military police in Western Europe.

In addition to testifying that Russian secret agents were active in the United States, Krivitsky wrote a series of articles for the Saturday Evening Post exposing Communist world intrigues.

### Always Feared for Life

Waldman said the embittered Russian, last survivor of the old military clique and possessor of secrets unknown even to Stalin, was constantly in fear of his life. He added:

"Several months ago, Krivitsky noticed he was being followed one afternoon while he was in the vicinity of Times Square, in New York. He knew a reporter on the Times, so he dashed into the Times office and stayed there for several hours until the man who was shadowing him finally left the vicinity."

# Literary Aide Doubts Suicide Of Red Foe

## Declares General Repeatedly Told Him He Would Be Slain

NEW YORK, Feb. 10 (U.P.). Boris Shub, who served as interpreter for Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky before the Dies Committee and collaborated with him on magazine articles, said tonight he was convinced that Krivitsky had been murdered in Washington by Soviet secret service agents.

"Krivitsky told me a dozen times in the last year that he would be murdered," Shub said.

### Three Reasons for Doubt

The 33-year-old writer gave three reasons for his belief that Krivitsky's death had been faked as a suicide.

"First," he said, "Krivitsky was too much of an egoist to kill himself. He attached great importance to the value of work he could do in this war and in the future. When I saw him six weeks ago he was bursting with plans for his future."

"In the second place he had no financial reason to commit suicide. I know definitely that he had more than enough money to keep him going for a year or two."

"Third, he was almost fanatically devoted to his family, particularly his 7-year-old son, with whom he used to play by the hour."

### Noticed Reds in Lobby

Shub said that when he was in Washington with Krivitsky for the Russian's appearance before the Dies Committee two Russians were constantly in the lobby of the hotel where they stayed.

"I believe the secret police decided that Krivitsky was then too much in the public eye to kill him at that time," Shub said.

Shub said he collaborated with Krivitsky on two magazine articles—one on the Communist International and the other on the Red Army. He was introduced to Krivitsky by mutual friends in July 1939, he said.

### Offered Post by British

"If Krivitsky had decided to die," Shub continued, "he could have done it much better and more easily by going into service with the British Intelligence. I know for a fact that he had received an offer from the British to join them. He was the sort of man who would have preferred a quiet death."



Waldman asserted he would ask the Federal Bureau of Investigation to cooperate with the Metropolitan Police in solving the entire affair. He said there were circumstances connected with the case which made an exhaustive investigation imperative.

After examining the three notes found in Krivitsky's room, Waldman was still unshaken in his opinion that the Russian general had been murdered. He declared the notes "could have been forged," but did declare that "everything was physically consistent with suicide." He said:

"It is well known that the OGPU has specimens of Krivitsky's handwriting in every language. The OGPU is reputedly expert in forging, including the work of counterfeiting currency."

#### Intrigue Veils Case

All the mystery of Old World intrigue was thrown about the case by the delay in the announcement of the death by the police, the action of the coroner, and the charges made by Waldman and the threats made on Krivitsky's life as revealed by Dr. J. B. Matthews, investigator for the Dies committee on un-American activities, who identified the body at the District Morgue.

When Waldman arrived last night from New York, he insisted that his client was the victim of the OGPU and revealed circumstances which led him to that belief. He declared that Krivitsky had no motive for suicide, but on the contrary had every reason to live.

#### Sought Refuge in Virginia

Waldman said the former Russian general left New York either Tuesday or Wednesday of last week for Charlottesville, Va., where he was seeking a home for his wife and child. Krivitsky feared attack by the OGPU agents, whom he told Waldman had been trailing him recently in New York.

When Krivitsky failed to return to New York last Friday to appear before the Coudert-Rapp committee investigating subversive activities in the New York schools, the attorney said he became worried for fear his client had met with foul play. After viewing the body at the Morgue, Waldman repeated

(Turn to Page 6—KRIVITSKY)

# Krivitsky Death Mystery

(Continued from First Page)

his assertion that he was "convinced my client was murdered."

Waldman declared that Krivitsky was in no financial difficulties and that his wife, Tonia, and son, Alex 7, were living in a New York apartment house under an assumed name. The widow also was certain her husband had been assassinated and said only a month ago Krivitsky learned that a Soviet NKVD (former OGPU agent), named "Hans," had reached the United States to "eliminate" him.

#### Assassination Attempted

"Hans" was reputed to be the Stalinist killer who tried to assassinate Krivitsky in Marseilles in 1937. Just after the general had broken with Stalin and was expelled from the Communist party and was forced to flee from Russia, the widow said.

First positive identification of the body was made by Dr. Matthews, who said:

"There can be no question about this being the body of the man known as Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky. I am absolutely certain of that. The last time I talked with General Krivitsky, which was about three months ago, he said, 'They are going to get me sure. Don't you ever believe that I will be a suicide. They have shot everybody else and they are going to get me sure.'"

While officials of the Federal Bureau of Investigation said agents had not yet been assigned to the case, they were "very much interested in the case."

Meanwhile, Dr. Christopher Murphy, deputy coroner, ordered paraffin tests made of the .38-caliber automatic pistol, which was found on the bed beside Krivitsky's body when it was discovered at 9:30 a.m. by Thelma Jackson, 21, a maid, at the Bellevue Hotel. These tests were expected to show the position of the weapon when the death shot was fired.

#### Three Notes Discovered

Despite the charges of Waldman and the strange circumstances surrounding the death of the Russian general, police were inclined to the theory of suicide. Three notes were found in the dead man's room—one in English, one in Russian and another in German. They were all addressed to different persons.

One note related that Krivitsky had obtained the pistol in Virginia and police immediately set out to trace the weapon.

A mysterious figure named "Dubertov" was brought into the case in the letter addressed to Krivitsky's wife and child. It was an "Dubertov's" farm, presumably near Charlottesville, Va., that the pistol was obtained. Waldman said he never had heard of such a person, and that a check of the phone book for that area had failed to show the name. Krivitsky's son, Alex, was said to be in the city at the time of the shooting.

Washington police asked Charlottesville authorities to check up on Dubertov and bring him to Washington for questioning provided they found such a person. Both city police and the sheriff's office declare Dubertov's identity was a mystery to them last night.

U. S. District Attorney Edward M. Curran was called into the case and held several long conferences with police officials at headquarters. He declined to state whether his office would take a hand in the case until the police investigation had been completed today.

#### Tension Seen in Writing

After an examination of the three notes, Ira Gullickson, handwriting expert of the Police Department, declared "there is no question about the same man who signed the hotel register, writing all three suicide notes." There were indications also, Gullickson said, the three notes were written on different days or at least at different times. He said the handwriting showed the growing tension of the writer.

Early today, Coroner MacDonald said that while he was convinced of suicide, he would not close the case until the charges of murder made by Waldman had been either proven or disproven. Waldman continued it was "a planned murder, which was made to appear a suicide."

While Dr. Matthews did not take the same adamant stand as Waldman, he said Krivitsky had told him in their last conversation about three months ago that "they" meaning the OGPU, "are going to get me sure" and warned him not to believe "I will be a suicide" if the Russian general was found dead.

While none of the notes left by Krivitsky made a definite statement of suicidal intent, one of the notes, addressed to Waldman, asked him to make provision for his family. It was not until after the police had communicated with Waldman that they learned the true identity of the dead man, who was first identified as Walter Porof and then as Samuel Ginsberg Krivitsky's real name.

#### Body Identified

Waldman was met at Union Station by Dr. Matthews and Inspector Thompson, chief of detectives, and driven directly to the District Morgue, where he identified the body and repeated his earlier charge that his client had been murdered.

Although the condition of the body did not hamper identification, it somewhat hampered the police investigation. The tip of the head had been almost blown away by a .38-caliber bullet and a thick coating of blood made it difficult to determine whether there were other wounds on the head which could have been fatal. The body was found in a room at the Bellevue Hotel.

Another circumstance hampered the police was the fact the maid in the room immediately Krivitsky had been provided by Dr. Paul Kiberg Hospital, who was the hotel management, had discovered the body and the body remained in the morgue to await identification.

Police admitted they had failed to find the room at the time found or to have a picture in the room prints.

#### Asked Revolver for

Waldman told police Krivitsky feared he would be killed by Soviet secret agents. He said they had engaged in conversation, Krivitsky how he could get a revolver for self-defense.

The attorney said that Krivitsky wished to go to Virginia to be near where he could contact the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the State Department. It had been reported that he had been employed in counterespionage by the FBI, but this was denied by Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Another fact which held was evidence a suicide theory was that made formal application weeks ago to become an American citizen. Krivitsky was going to see of Porof, his wife's to avoid the attention of Russian agents in the United States.

#### Dies on Way Here

Representative M. Texas, chairman of the committee on Un-American Activities, was en route from Washington last night to the House to introduce appropriation and of the committee of the Russian general to have an effect on the House.

The body was closed and shoes. A .38-caliber automatic pistol lay by the body. The maid summoned who immediately identified the body.

Joseph Donnelly, the police the man under the name of at 8:49 p.m. Sunday, been seen nor heard of hotel attaché. Donnelly carried a small of brown canvas, which he said the man appeared as he signed the \$2.50-a-day room.

Found in the man a passport made in Canada, which had entered the United States.

Attaches of the body on both sides of the head. Krivitsky was a man of medium build, with dark hair, and was wearing a dark suit and a white shirt with a dark tie. The body was found in a room at the Bellevue Hotel.

CWH

Kramer

# 7 Mourners Attend Rites of Krivitsky

In the seclusion of a small chapel at Fresh Pond Crematory, Middle Village, Queens, the body of Samuel Ginsburg, a Russian refugee who failed to find haven from Stalin's OGPU in America, was cremated yesterday.

The rites were brief—barely 20 minutes—and were viewed only by Ginsburg's wife, Tanya; five close friends and his attorney, Louis Waldman. The ceremony was no different from the one that preceded it or the two that followed. Only a massing of photographers and reporters set it apart.

Ginsburg—more widely known as Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky—was the central figure in a tragedy with international significance. Found shot to death in a Washington hotel room Monday, he was immediately identified by a Dies Committee investigator—a victim of Stalin's long, red arm.

## Case Still Open

In Washington records, Krivitsky is officially listed as a suicide. Because of the many sides to the case, however, police there are holding the case "open" on request of Congressman Dies, to whom Krivitsky gave devastating evidence concerning activities of Red saboteurs and provocateurs in the United States.

Krivitsky's body was taken to the Fairchild Funeral Chapel, 86 Lefferts Pl., Brooklyn, following arrival at Pennsylvania Station Thursday night. Not a mourner appeared until 11 a. m., yesterday, when the attorney brought the cremation permit.

A permit had been refused in Washington because of the confusion of names. To get it here, the wife signed an affidavit that the family name was Ginsburg.

## No Cortege

There was no cortege. Mrs. Krivitsky arrived with friends about ten minutes after the body, and went immediately to the chapel. After the rites, the party fled by a side door.

No comment was made by Mrs. Krivitsky who, with her son Alexander, 7, is staying with friends in Flatbush.

An FBI denial that it was investigating was issued yesterday by Robert A. Guerin, second in charge of the New York district, as the Mirror had predicted. Observers were inclined to discount its importance in view of the fact that since Krivitsky gave all his information directly to Dies, the probe was probably being conducted from Washington under the new "peace pact" between Dies and the FBI.

100-11146-A

CLIPPING FROM THE  
NEW YORK DAILY MIRROR

DATE FEB 15 1941  
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION.

Mr. Tolson .....  
 Mr. E. A. Tamm .....  
 Mr. Clegg .....  
 Mr. Foxworth .....  
 Mr. Nathan .....  
 Mr. Ladd .....  
 Mr. Glavin .....  
 Mr. Nichols .....  
 Mr. Hendon .....  
 Mr. Rosen .....  
 Mr. Tracy .....  
 Miss Gandy .....

## ASKS IF ANOTHER RED WAS KILLED

### Commonweal Poses Query on Missing Hathaway.

"Where is Clarence Hathaway?" an editorial in the Commonweal demanded today, citing the recent death of Gen. Walter Krivitsky in a Washington hotel and posing this question: "Has the OGPU or the Russian military espionage already done a job on this erstwhile editor of Stalin's Daily Worker?"

The whereabouts of Hathaway have been unknown for some time, although a statement from him, issued through his lawyer on January 21, agreed that his expulsion from the Communist party on January 18 was justifiable, "made necessary by my failure to live up to the exacting personal standards properly demanded by the party of its leadership."

The assassination of Krivitsky would fit too perfectly into the pattern of murder which the Russian secret services have painted

in red across country after country, the editorial declared, mentioning "Trotzky in Mexico and before Trotzky four of his secretaries in various countries; Wolf Berneri, Ntn. and no one knows how many others behind the Loyalist lines in Spain," Ignace Reiss in Switzerland and Klement in Paris.

"Hathaway was a C. P. hack; we opposed him, his work, his ideas—but he was a human being and living in America," the editorial added. "We would prefer to know he is still a man subject to the justice of this country, the object of concern of a Christian people and not the victim of the cold and execution of the OGPU."

100-11146-A

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N. Y. SUN.  
FEB 17 1941

DATE



Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Foxworth  
Mr. Nathan  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Miss Gandy

## What Happened To Missing Reds?

The strange death of Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky focused attention today on the fate of other Communists in America who had once been loyal to Stalin and later turned against the Soviet dictator.

A number of those Communists are mysteriously missing, and the question arose whether the OGPU had struck them down or otherwise removed them from the scene.

Krivitsky, found dead in a Washington hotel room, was reported a suicide by his own gun, after a coroner's inquest but, the consensus of his friends was that his had been a death forced at the hands of the OGPU.

### WHAT ABOUT OTHERS?

Today the question is asked: What about the other enemies of Stalin in America? In particular, what about the American Communists reported missing.

At the head of the list of missing is C. H. Hathaway, former editor of the Daily Worker, who expelled by the Communist Party last Jan. 10, and has not been seen since last October.

An old-line Red, Hathaway was among the 20 years he served the Communist party one of their most trusted and influential members.

A tall, Minnesota-born Ameri-

can, he had spent several years in Russia, and in 1928 was a pupil at the OGPU training school in Moscow. Ironically, one of his teachers was Gen. Krivitsky.

He returned to the United States, leaving two children in Moscow schools. Hathaway was named editor of the Daily Worker in 1933, and was on the central committee of the Communist party, the highest ranking body of the local Red organization.

He was a delegate to all Communist International conventions in Moscow and was sent on secret missions abroad. As a high ranking Red Hathaway had the approval of the OGPU, and he was a close friend of Mike Pell, George Mink and other powerful heads of Stalin's secret police.

### EXPULSED BY PARTY.

On Jan. 10, this year, his expulsion from the Communist party was announced briefly in the Daily Worker.

After reporters had conducted

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N. Y. EVENING JOURNAL AMERICAN

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futile search for the former Red editor, Hathaway announced on Jan 21 that his "expulsion was resubmittable."

"Now, as always, I have the greatest regard and admiration for Comrades Browder, Ford and Minor," Hathaway said.

Suspicion that this statement did not come from Hathaway was promptly voiced by former Communists. They pointed out that:

The statement had come from a lawyer for the Communists and not from Hathaway himself.

Hathaway had long been known for his dislike for Browder, whom he characterized to close friends as a "political weakling."

#### RELATED ANNOUNCEMENT.

The expulsion took place in October, 1940, and was not announced until four months later. The OGPU procedure in such cases is to announce the expulsion after the recalcitrant Red has conveniently "disappeared."

Gustav Torgler, prominent German Communist, had vanished when Moscow announced his expulsion a few years ago. There are a number of such cases on record.

Mrs. Hathaway, an active Communist under the name of "Vera Saunders," refused to make a statement following the expulsion order, although usually in such cases a confirmed Stalinist denounces a "traitor," no matter the relationship.

Hathaway's statement was almost a word for word repetition of Moscow recantings supposedly made by Christian Rakovsky,

Alexi Rykov and other Bolsheviks who were purged in 1937.

All announced they were completely wrong and avowed their love for Stalin, even though they knew the firing squad awaited them.

Hathaway has not been seen since last October. He recently mailed letters to Mrs. Hathaway from Los Angeles.

There are other former prominent Communists who have "disappeared" from the Red's national office at 35 E. 12th st. These include:

Frank Brown, national administrative secretary of the Communist party and one of the key persons in the American organization. He has been named as an agent of the OGPU.

Charles Derber, chairman of the control commission of the Red group. This agency, under direct control of OGPU operatives, has as its task the expulsion and punishment of recalcitrant Communists.

Jack Stachel, national trade union secretary of the Communist party and one of the Red's most trusted leaders.

Vera Taft, Hathaway's personal secretary and former worker for the Communist International in Moscow.

It is known that the State Department and the F. B. I. are both interested in the whereabouts of Derber and Brown.

One theory advanced by friends of the late Gen. Krivitsky is that these alleged OGPU agents may have fled to another country, where they will change their names and continue their work for Moscow.

Mr. T. A. ...  
 Mr. E. A. ...  
 Mr. ...  
 Mr. Nathan ...  
 Mr. Ladd ...  
 Mr. Glavin ...  
 Mr. Nichols ...  
 Mr. Rosen ...  
 Mr. Tracy ...  
 Mr. Gandy ...

# LEAD OF KRIVITSKY CASE

## New Leader Office Raided— Hand of OGPU Seen

Members of the Social Democratic Federation reported yesterday that during the last week-end the federation offices and the editorial room of The New Leader, federation organ, both at 7 East Fifteenth Street—were mysteriously invaded.

Nothing of value was taken. It was obvious that some one had opened the safe in the federation headquarters on the second floor of the building, apparently in search of documents. A small amount of money in the safe was exposed but left untouched.

In both places papers were scattered, files disarranged, books strewn about as if the intruders thought they might find important papers or letters.

Since neither office would have yielded any worth-while loot, federation officials seemed inclined to believe the visit might have some association with the General Krivitsky case. The general and some of his friends were contributors to The New Leader.

Victor Riesel, editor of The New Leader, said he thought the visit might have been made by OGPU agents possibly hoping to find unpublished Krivitsky data.

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N. Y. TIMES

DATE FEB 18 1941

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Mr. Foxworth	_____
Mr. Nathan	_____
Mr. Ladd	_____
Mr. Glavin	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tracy	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

# THESE DAYS . By George E. Sokolsky

## The Krivitsky Case

Let there be any misunderstanding, I assert that Walter Krivitsky has been murdered, that there is ample evidence to prove that if he committed suicide, it was not because he wanted to die but because he wanted his wife and child to live, and that therefore even a suicide becomes murder—as a forced suicide must be.

Furthermore, I assert that, for reasons not known to me but which I can reconstruct, the police of the city of Washington, from the start, failed to follow ordinary police routines employed when a body is found under such circumstances, that the FBI, in spite of the fact that such a crime might be linked to the national defense, has refused to intervene in the case. I call attention to the fact that Walter Krivitsky had been of assistance to the State Department, the FBI and the Dies committee, and that certainly the FBI was obligated to protect him from Stalin's gangsters who are operating in Washington, the capital of the United States, as they operated in Mexico, where they managed to kill Trotsky in his own house.

There are many curious factors in the murder of Krivitsky which I shall bring out from time to time. But to me it is most interesting that the whole affair follows specifically an OGPU murder, and yet none of our police officers in the national capital recognized it as such, just as the New York city police have never been able to understand the political significance of the Juliet Poyntz kidnaping. Stalin conducts a vendetta in the United States and no one pays any attention to it.

Let me show the lines of this pattern: Walter Krivitsky broke with the OGPU and published a series of articles in the *Saturday Evening Post* and a book—both of which have stood the test of time. They prove Stalin to head a world murder organization. Krivitsky achieved a certain reputation and he is called down to Washington to testify before the Dies committee and a Grand Jury; the FBI and the State Department utilize his expert information. He went to England and placed at the disposal of the British government valuable information. Then he returned to the United States via Canada.

This activity continues until it becomes American national policy to appease Soviet Russia, to sell her machine tools which are badly needed in this country, to permit her to export from the United States supplies which find their way into Germany. The moral embargo against shipments to Russia is lifted in spite of the fact that that contradicts all-out aid to Britain. Suddenly, Krivitsky is no longer being consulted. But he had earned considerable money and on the basis of his

standard of living had ample for several years. He wants to buy a farm, to spend his time writing, farming and perhaps teaching somewhere. I have made full inquiries among his closest friends and associates and find that he was personally cheerful, happy, but not optimistic about the future relations between this country and Soviet Russia.

He had, however, had some warning of what would happen to him. According to my information a former associate, Paul Wohl, warned him to beware of a certain OGPU killer who was in this country. Who is Paul Wohl? He had formerly been employed by the OGPU in Europe under Krivitsky. He had helped Krivitsky to prepare his writings. He even set himself up as a sort of guide to Krivitsky. But they had quarreled and were no longer friends. Should not some one inquire into Paul Wohl's knowledge of the case? How did he know about the killer? Where did he see the killer? How did the killer get into this country?

In the correspondence which Krivitsky left behind, the appearance is given that Krivitsky regrets that he had exposed Stalin and the Russian regime. His letter to his wife is made to appear to be a retraction. It is given to the press in a translation in which this significant sentence is garbled: "Good people will help you; but no enemies of the Soviet Union." Then there is the admission of transgression. This is the usual formula for communist confessions. The other day, we witnessed the spectacle of an American citizen, Clarence Hathaway, humiliating himself, in much the same manner, as an apology for his failure to be obedient to the party gods. So, Krivitsky is made to appear to be repentant.

But there is a further step. A certain Wellington Roe appears on the scene and spreads the story that he met Krivitsky in a restaurant in New York and that Krivitsky told him that he was about to write a series of articles denouncing himself as a fraud. Who is Wellington Roe? I do not know. None of Krivitsky's friends know him. And I am told that his address books do not contain such a name. Krivitsky had many close and intimate friends. He never told them that he was about to retract and denounce himself. But he did tell a stranger, a person whom he casually meets in a restaurant, that he has such a plan! Where does that stranger bob up from? What does he know about all this? What is his past? Is the FBI or are the Washington police trying to find out who Wellington Roe is and what he has to do with Krivitsky's affairs?

So far as I can see nothing is being done which conflicts with the appeasement of Stalin.

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# THESE DAYS . By George E. Sokolsky

## The Krivitsky Case

More queer angles poke out of this Krivitsky case than can readily be pushed aside. Perhaps this may best be shown in the experience of Louis Waldman, Krivitsky's lawyer.

On Monday, February 10, at about 3:45 P. M. (mark the time!) Waldman received a notification from the New York police to the effect that a man called Ginsberg had committed suicide in a Washington hotel and that the Washington police wanted to get in touch with him.

Waldman called Washington and spoke to Chief Inspector Thompson, who told him that a man called Samuel Ginsberg had committed suicide and that they had found Waldman's name among his papers. Waldman asked that the blotter be read to him and this is the information he received:

"At about 9:30 A. M., February 10, 1941, Walter Porel, alias Samuel Ginsberg, white, 41 years, New York city, was found in an unconscious state, on the bed, in room 532, of the Bellevue Hotel, No. 15 Edward street, N. W., by Elma Jackson, colored, of 1315 1/2 Brown street, S. E., a maid of the above hotel. Walter Porel, alias Samuel Ginsberg, was pronounced dead at 11 A. M., February 10, 1941, by Dr. Eisberg of the Emergency Hospital staff. Death was due to a gunshot wound in head. Homicide squad and coroner notified. Investigated by Detective Sergeant D. Quest, who has possession of gun. Body was removed to a morgue."

Note that Krivitsky left three letters, one clearly signed "Walter Krivitsky." The letter, including that full signature, was addressed to Waldman, but nothing was said about a letter to Waldman nor that the police knew that it was Krivitsky who was dead. Why was this information withheld from Krivitsky's lawyer? Why did the Washington police wait from 9:30 A. M. until 3:45 P. M. to notify Waldman, concerning whom they had knowledge from Krivitsky's letter? To whom was such a delay advantageous?

Better still, why was the press not notified? Krivitsky was a man with an international reputation. He had put the finger on Earl Browder and Nick Lozenberg. He became the subject of national controversy. He had appeared in hearings in Washington. Why did not the Washington police recognize the name and inform the press? Or did they recognize the name? It is noteworthy that the first news of the Krivitsky murder came from New York and emanated from Waldman's office. Who killed the story in Washington?

The police knew that the man who registered at the Bellevue Hotel as Porel was also Samuel Ginsberg from an identification document which he carried. But they also knew that he went by the name of Walter Krivitsky from a letter he left, addressed to Waldman and so signed.

Waldman arrived in Washington at 11 P. M. He and J. R. Matthews of the Dies committee went to the morgue. It was only after he had already iden-

tified the body that the letters which Krivitsky left were shown to him. There were also inaccurate translations of the Russian letter addressed to Mrs. Krivitsky and the German letter addressed to Suzanne La Follette. Were the translations incorrect from carelessness or what? Why was the reference to "enemies of the Soviet Union" omitted?

Waldman and Matthews asked about fingerprints. They were told that no examination had been made of fingerprints either on the glass knobs of the door to room 532 or on the gun. They were told that the gun was covered with blood and that therefore they did not look for fingerprints. I have been informed that glass door knobs are especially good for fingerprints, as is blood on a gun. Inquiries were made concerning the bullet. They were told that it was embedded in the wall and left there.

Waldman, who had spent lots of time with Krivitsky, noted that the last person who said that he saw Krivitsky was a bellboy who said that he brought him sparkling water between 6:30 and 7 P. M. on Sunday. The maid said that she found him at 9:30 A. M. on Monday. Krivitsky was a chain cigarette smoker. His usual consumption was at least three packets of cigarettes a day. He smoked more cigarettes when he was under tension. Yet not a single cigarette butt was found in his room when examined by Waldman and the police lieutenant. None were reported taken away by the police. Is it possible to believe that a chain cigarette smoker, contemplating suicide, writing and reading and re-reading his last testaments to his wife, son, lawyer and literary collaborator, would suddenly give up smoking? Is it not rather to be believed that those who were in the room with him realized that the cigarette butts might lead to them, and cleaned out all the ash trays to cover their presence?

Either Waldman or Matthews asked about the door being bolted on the inside, which the police claimed was the case. Quite apart from the fact that there is no evidence that the door was so bolted, how did the colored maid enter the room at 9:30 A. M.? Did she break down the bolted door? Did she send for the hotel carpenter to rip out the bolted door? Not at all. She opened it with her key. If she could enter the room at 9:30 A. M. on Monday, why are the Washington police so certain that nobody else entered that room besides Krivitsky between 7 P. M. on Sunday, the latest that any one admits to have seen him, and 9:30 A. M. when he was found by the maid?

And the coroner said that he was dead four or five hours before he was found by the maid. Say, some time about 8 A. M. The next rooms to his were occupied. The revolver found with Krivitsky was .38 caliber. The separating walls are flimsy. How is it that nobody heard the shot? Nobody in any adjoining room? How does that happen?

There are many more details in this picture to disclose.

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N.Y. SUN.

FEB 20 1941  
RECORDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

# WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE

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Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
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Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

ALLENTOWN, N. J.--ALF. J. PARNELL THOMAS SAID TODAY THERE WAS A "MISTAKE ABOUT" IN HIS MIND THAT THE BODY FOUND RECENTLY IN A WASHINGTON HOTEL ROOM WAS THAT OF GEN. WALTER G. KRIVITSKY.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE BODY WILL BE ONE OF THE PHASES OF THE DIES COMPTON'S INVESTIGATION OF KRIVITSKY'S DEATH, THOMAS SAID.

DURING A TALK AT A WASHINGTON BIRTHDAY LUNCHEON AT PASSAIC, N. J., EARLIER IN THE DAY, THOMAS SAID HE DID NOT BELIEVE KRIVITSKY HAD COMMITTED SUICIDE, ALTHOUGH HE WAS SHOT AND A GUN LAY NEARBY, AND ADDED:

"AS THE DAYS HAVE PASSED, I HAVE BEEN WONDERING IF IT REALLY WAS KRIVITSKY. WE HAVE NOT HEARD THE LAST OF THIS CASE. THE DIES COMPTON WILL CONTINUE TO INVESTIGATE IT TO THE LIMIT."

"THE WASHINGTON POLICE BUNGLED THE CASE TERRIBLY. ALTHOUGH THE BODY WAS FOUND AT 9:30 A. M. NO ATTEMPT TO IDENTIFY IT WAS MADE UNTIL 3:45 P. M. THE FBI DID NOT DO A COMPLETE JOB EITHER. AS THINGS STAND NOW, NO ONE CAN ACTUALLY BE SURE THAT THE BODY WAS KRIVITSKY'S."

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*I advised Bill Peck of the Times-Herald that the FBI did not & is not investigating the case.*

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1941



February 23, 1941

# Police Reaffirm Identification Of Krivitsky

## Thomas Hits Inquiry, Wants Dies Probers To Investigate Case

Local police, answering a Dies Committee member who was "assailed with doubts" whether it was really Walter Krivitsky's body which was found here February 10, said last night that positive identification had been established by fingerprints.

Representative Thomas, Republican, of New Jersey, said in Passaic, N. J., that Washington police had done a poor job of handling the case. Although he had viewed the body and identified it as Krivitsky, he said yesterday, he had since come to doubt his identification.

Lt. George Darnall, head of the police homicide squad, answered the Representative by pointing out that fingerprints had been taken from the body and had been compared with those made by Krivitsky when he registered last year as an alien.

The fingerprints of the dead man and those of Krivitsky were identical, Lt. Darnall said. The detectives pointed out the body had been identified by several persons who knew the former Russian spy chief intimately.

### Body Found in Hotel

Krivitsky's body was found in the Bellevue Hotel. He had been shot through the head and police listed the case as a suicide, before learning the real identity of the victim. When it was learned that it was Krivitsky, further investigation was made—with police closing the case as a suicide.

Representative Thomas made his charges in a speech before a group at a Passaic Presbyterian church, the Associated Press reported. He said police investigation of the case was "probably the worst . . . the Dies Committee ever came in contact with."

He charged police had told committee investigators they were unable to take fingerprints from the gun found in the hotel room because it was covered with blood. He said committee investigators told him the blood should facilitate rather than hinder the taking of prints.

The Representative also said there were several discrepancies in the story of the investigation as told to the committee by the police.

### Wants Committee Inquiry

He said the committee "should go into the case to the limit" and predicted that "you have not yet heard the last of the Krivitsky case."

In New York, Louis Waldman, who was Krivitsky's attorney, said there was no question about the identification. He said both he and Mrs. Krivitsky had seen the body and were sure of the identification.

"I took steps to settle any dispute before it might arise," he said. "I took pictures of the body."

This, he explained, he had done because he anticipated the dispute. On one point, Mr. Waldman said, he agreed with Mr. Thomas:

"I agree that the investigation of the case was the sloppiest and most incomplete ever conducted."

The case was "closed" here with the issuance of a certificate of suicide by Coroner A. Magruder MacDonald. Asked about Mr. Thomas' statements, Dr. MacDonald yesterday said:

"So far as I know, there are no grounds for reopening the case. Nothing new has been given me."

No New Evidence, Thompson Says. Chief of Detectives Bernard W. Thompson said police had obtained no new evidence in the case and as far as they are concerned it is closed.

Mr. Thomas, in his speech, said he couldn't "find any evidence that the F. B. I. took any part in the investigation of the death of this international figure."

F. B. I. officials said at the time of the investigation they were taking no part in it. Yesterday, E. J. Tracy, in the office of Director J. Edgar Hoover, repeated that the F. B. I. "did not and is not going to investigate the case."

He said the F. B. I. did not enter the investigation because the death did not occur on a Government reservation.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Foxworth \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Jones \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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February 23, 1941

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Foxworth  
Mr. Nathan  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Egan  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Miss Gandy

# Thomas Flays Krivitsky Quiz As 'Bungled'

**'Doubts' Body Was  
That of Ex-Spy;  
Dies to Sift Facts**

Listed officially by police as a "suicide," the macabre death of Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky, former Soviet spy chief in western Europe, found shot here February 10, sputtered with congressional repercussions last night when Representative Parnell Thomas (R), of New Jersey, demanded that investigation into the case be reopened.

Thomas is a member of the Dies Committee.

## Wants to Call Hoover

He told the Times-Herald that he will:

1. Formally recommend that the Dies Committee take over and reopen the investigation of the case when the committee meets Tuesday.

2. Request that the committee issue subpoenas for J. Edgar Hoover, chief of the F.B.I.; Police Superintendent Ernest W. Brown and Chief of Detectives Bernard W. Thompson, the latter two in charge of what he termed the "bungled" police investigation of Krivitsky's death, and.

3. Recommend public hearings be held to determine why the F.B.I. did not investigate the death of "this international figure, and to delve into the methods used by police in their investigation of the case."

He added that he is now "assailed with doubts" whether the body found was actually that of the former Russian general.

## Quiz Still On, Dies Says

Representative Martin Dies, head of the committee, refused to comment on Representative Thomas' remarks, but declared the investigation by his committee of the Krivitsky case was definitely not at a close.

Dies said, "There will be other very important developments in this case before we close our probe."

The legislator revealed he was now attempting to establish the identities of a number of Soviet and German spies in this country.

"These men are dangerous," he said, "and even are baffling our own enforcement agencies."

## Attacks Police

Thomas said he will present his recommendations when the committee holds its next scheduled meeting Tuesday morning.

Thomas, reached at his home in New Jersey, charged the FBI with

(Turn to Page 2-A—KRIVITSKY)

## International Angle

Stating "you have not yet heard the last of the Krivitsky case," Thomas, who identified the slain man as Krivitsky when the body was taken to the District Morgue, said he had discussed the case with other members of the Dies Committee and was convinced that body could get to the bottom of the mystery surrounding the Russian's death.

Thomas expressed belief a thorough probe of the case not only would determine whether the former O.G.P.U. chief was murdered or driven to suicide but probably would develop "an interesting international" angle.

The Dies committee member was caustically critical of the manner in which the local police investigation was handled from the time Krivitsky's body was found in a room in the Bellevue Hotel, a .38-caliber bullet wound in his head, until Coroner A. Magruder McDonald issued the "suicide" certificate four days later.

## "Disgrace," He Says

"That was the punkest, most disgraceful and worst police investigation the Dies committee ever came in contact with. The police charged."

# Krivitsky

(Continued from First Page)

negligence by not participating in the Krivitsky investigation and declared the local police gave the "punkest exhibition" of investigation he had ever encountered.

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Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Foxworth  
Mr. Nathan  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Miss Gandy

## AIDE OF DIES DOUBTS VICTIM WAS KRIVITSKY

Rep. J. Parnell Thomas, of New Jersey, a member of the Dies Committee, declared in Passaic yesterday that the committee will continue to investigate the recent death in Washington of Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky, former Russian spy. Thomas said he does not believe Krivitsky committed suicide.

In a talk at a Washington's

Birthday luncheon of the Everyman's Club, Thomas criticized police handling of the case.

"As the days have passed," he said, "I have been wondering if it really was Krivitsky. We have not heard the last of this case."

"The Washington police bungled terribly. Though the body was found at 9:30 a. m., no investigation was started until 3:45 p. m. The FBI did not do a complete job either. As things stand now, no one can actually be sure that the body was Krivitsky's."

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CLIPPING FROM  
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DATE FEB 23 1941  
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# Ex-Russ Officer Slain In Mystery

## Police Hunt For Krivitsky Murder Link

**U. S. Army Inspected  
Bomb Invented by  
Victim of N. Y. Crime**

NEW YORK, Feb. 24 (I.N.S.). New York police today investigated the mysterious slaying of a former white Russian army colonel, Michael A. Borislavsky, 55, whose body was found with a bullet hole through the head last night behind the wall of a convent in uptown New York.

Motive for the killing was not known, although friends of the slain man disclosed he recently had invented a bomb which had been favorably received by the United States War Department, and that he was engaged in research on a new smoke screen which he planned to submit to Washington.

### Weighed 300 Pounds

Although associates insisted the white Russian officer had "no political affiliation," police intensified their investigation because of the strange death of General Walter G. Krivitsky in a Washington hotel room just two weeks ago. Krivitsky, who had been hiding from the Soviet OGPU, was found with a bullet hole through his head.

Shot through the right eye, Colonel Borislavsky, a powerful man, six feet tall, weighing 300 pounds, with the close-cropped haircut of the Russian army officer, was found lying face down against the wall of the convent of the Sacred Heart, near 133d Street, by Dr. Frederick Ziman, a passerby.

Borislavsky, a graduate of the military academy in Russia but for the past 20 years a naturalized citizen of the United States, re-

cently had received favorable communications from the War Department on his bomb, according to his wife, Viora, and was hopeful of receiving as much as \$500,000 for his invention.

### Held Doctor's Degree

The former colonel, who held a doctor of science degree and also a degree from Columbia University, left his three-room flat at about 5 p.m. yesterday for a "breath of fresh air," his wife, a hospital worker, said.

Three and a half hours later, Dr. Ziman found him slumped along the convent wall. Assistant Medical Examiner Raymond B. Miles, who hurried to the scene after police were summoned, reported the bullet which had killed the Russian had pierced the right glass of his spectacles, entered the eye, and emerged through the back of the head.

The bullet had ripped through the colonel's shabby derby, which lay about three feet from his body. Police were unable to locate either the gun or the bullet.

### No Robbery Indicated

The ex-army officer, who borrowed 30 cents from his wife when he left his apartment, had only 7 cents in the pockets of his brown imitation fur coat, but the coat was buttoned and there was no indication that he had been a robbery victim.

Mrs. Borislavsky said she did not know whether her husband had been carrying any designs for his invention when he left the apartment. Only some letters written in Russian were found in his pockets.

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FEB 24 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. E. A. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

26

# Stalin Foe's Killing Stirs Hint of Plot

By International News Service

New York, Feb. 24.—Detectives investigating the murder of Col. Michael Borislavsky, White Russian exile and military inventor, who was found shot to death in the rear of a convent in upper Manhattan, today considered the possibilities that international intrigue may have played a hand.

Borislavsky's death followed that of Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky in a Washington hotel room February 10. Both men were enemies of Stalin and the Soviet regime.

Col. Borislavsky's most recent invention, an aerial torpedo, had already been submitted to the United States War Department.

The inventor's body was found sprawled on a sidewalk behind the convent. Police found the bullet which pierced Borislavsky's spectacles and head and rushed it to the laboratory for examination.

Although they disclaimed knowledge of the case, it was reported that the FBI is working with detectives.

Borislavsky was a member of a White Russian organization, the Russian officers military alliance, whose leaders, two of whom were slain in Paris, were targets for the Soviet Secret Police. He was 35, 6 feet tall, weighed 230 pounds and was a graduate of the Russian Military Academy. He had been a naturalized citizen of this country for 20 years.

Col. Feodor Maybohn, the slain scientist's partner, said the aerial torpedo had been accepted by the government and that he and Borislavsky also had perfected a "smoke clearing bomb" that would revolutionize aerial photography.

Maybohn said he had returned from Washington Sunday night after being told the Government had accepted the aerial bomb and was prepared to pay between \$500,000 and \$800,000 for it. He was waiting at Borislavsky's \$35 a month apartment when police arrived with news of the murder.

In Washington today the War Department disclaimed any knowledge of Borislavsky's invention. However, the National Inventors' Council reported he had submitted a design for an "aerial torpedo" on December 1, 1940, which the council had subsequently found "not necessary to national defense."

Police surmised that Borislavsky had fought before being shot to death. His heavy walking stick was found clutched tightly in his right hand.

The first impression was that he had been robbed, but his fur-lined overcoat was tightly buttoned. He had 11 cents and a valuable watch in his pockets.

The former officer in the Czar's army left home yesterday shortly after 5 p. m. His body was found lying face downward in a pool of blood three hours later.

His wife, prostrated by shock, said he had received anonymous threats of death three years ago.

"He received an anonymous warning in the mail," she said. "He believed it was because he had fought the Bolsheviks."

Nicholas P. Rybakoff, editor of Rossiya, a Russian language newspaper published in New York, disclosed that his paper had printed several articles by Borislavsky which were strongly critical of the Stalin regime.

"Although Col. Borislavsky was more of a scientist than an active politician, he was well known for his hatred of communism," he said.

It was revealed that the slain scientist's 32-year-old daughter by an earlier marriage is living in Germany, the wife of a Nazi soldier. Borislavsky also seemed to have been intensely interested in Nazi aviation. His home has many pasted-up clippings of parachute troop activities and Nazi air developments.

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Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_  
*Whites*

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FEB 25 1941

WASHINGTON POST

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## Sinister Intrigue

# Five Dies Witnesses Vanish; Were Expected to Name Spies

## Disappearance Follows Mystery Deaths Of Krivitsky Here, Borislavsky in New York

Five witnesses from whom Representative Martin Dies hoped to obtain the names of some of the Axis spies operating in the United States have disappeared, the chairman of the House Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, declared last night.

They vanished—and thus far are beyond the reach of Dies investigators—since the death in Washington of Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky, former official of the Russian secret police, and the murder in New York ten days ago of the Russian Col. Borislavsky.

All of the witnesses have told at secret hearings of operations of the OGPU, Gestapo and the Italian OVRA but have since taken to heart implications in the deaths of Krivitsky and Borislavsky, both of whom openly testified before the committee and have gone into hiding, according to Dies.

It was recalled that Krivitsky, a few hours before his death, was preparing to take himself and fam-

ily into hiding in a sparsely settled section of Virginia farmland.

Disappearance of the witnesses became known a few hours after Dr. Alfred Ernst Auhagen, described by the Dies Committee as leader of "one of the most subtle" Nazi organizations in the United States, was indicted yesterday by a special grand jury here on three charges of failing to register as a foreign propagandist.

Should he be convicted, he would be liable to a maximum penalty of six years in prison and \$3,000 fine.

Auhagen's indictment followed several months of grand jury investigation, which prosecutors said was far from completed. He was arrested at LaSalle, Ill., last night, the Associated Press reported and was released under \$5,000 bond.

Auhagen has openly pleaded the Nazi cause in America for several years. Sharing the platform with Earl Browder, jailed Communist leader, at the University of Virginia

See DIES, Page 6, Column 1.

DIES, from Page 1.

Institute of Public Affairs on July 6, 1939, Auhagen reproached the American public for rejecting common interests with Germany.

Last September 20 Auhagen was seized by Federal officers as he was about to board a liner for Japan. Later he testified before the Dies Committee. Witnesses before the committee linked him to Dr. Friedrich Dräger, German Vice Consul in New York, who was described as his chief in disseminating propaganda.

### Propaganda Mill Charged

The indictment yesterday charged that Auhagen organized the American Fellowship Forum group, of which he was national director for 15 months, "for the purpose of influencing public opinion in the United States on issues of political significance."

To the same end, the grand jury said, Auhagen wrote articles under his own and other names for "Today's Challenge," the Forum's organ, and other periodicals, gave lectures, showed German motion pictures and "sought to make contacts with persons capable of lending support to the program and policies of the German government."

In discussing the missing witnesses, Dies disclosed that Krivitsky, shortly before his death, was trying to establish the identity of several men he was certain were OGPU agents. Furthermore, Dies said, Borislavsky "claimed" to have known the identities of agents.

Dies cited the deaths of Krivitsky and Borislavsky and the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico City last year as "examples." He said they were meant to show the fate of all informers against Axis secret police.

"I don't know whether the Krivitsky death was a suicide," Dies said. "Probably it was, but the important thing to bear in mind is why did Gen. Krivitsky kill himself? I believe he died to save his family and that there is no essential difference, in principle, between his death and the famous Moscow show trials."

### "Follows Pattern"

"In any event the Krivitsky death and that of Borislavsky followed a pattern familiar all over Europe. The OGPU, the Gestapo and the OVRA all have the power of life and death over their agents."

Dies said his committee has a rather complete story of the operations of foreign police in this country. All that was needed to pin the story down, he said, were names of agents which, he believes, the missing witnesses would have supplied.

Trotsky, before his assassination, was to have given Dies certain information, the chairman stated, recalling that consideration at one time was given to bring Trotsky into this country as a witness.

Despite all the obstacles, Dies said he was certain that the full story of Axis spies in the United States will be disclosed. "It's only a matter of time," he declared.

NOT RECORDED

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INDEXED

THE WASHINGTON POST  
March 3, 1941

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# KRIVITSKY NOTE PINS DEATH ON OGPU, CHARGE

NEW YORK, March 4.—(International News Service.)—Declaring a corrected version of Gen. Walter Krivitsky's "suicide" note to his wife made it "a typical Soviet-inspired confession," Louis Waldman, attorney for the late one-time OGPU spy, made public copies of the original three death notes today.

Krivitsky's body, a bullet through the brain, was found in a Washington, D. C., hotel room on February 10—shortly after he revealed he was in fear of his life from OGPU agents because of his sensational revelations of Communist activities.

Waldman said the new translation of the note in question—written in Russian—corroborates the belief that Krivitsky was hounded to death by the OGPU and killed himself as part of a "bargain" to save his family.

"When the note was first made public, Washington police omitted four significant words in the third and last sentence of the body of the letter," Waldman asserted.

"The sentence, as first translated, read:

"Good people will help you but no enemies."

"The corrected translation makes that sentence read:

"Good people will help you but no enemies of the Soviet people."

"This is a traditional Soviet confession technique: to absolve the Soviet no matter what happens, and to blame yourself—as Krivitsky did in the very next sentence:

"I think my sins are great."

Waldman asserted he could not understand why Washington police did not reveal that the body was that of Krivitsky since this last letter was clearly signed.

## APARTMENT LOOTED.

While Harold A. Schott was attending his mother's funeral, burglars entered his apartment at 2026 Foster av. yesterday and took jewelry and clothing valued at \$2,505.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Foxworth  
Mr. Nathan  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Miss Gandy  
Kramer

THE CHICAGO AMERICAN

100-11146-A

3-4-41

Mr. Tolson .....  
Mr. E. A. Tamm .....  
Mr. Clegg .....  
Mr. Foxworth .....  
Mr. Nathan .....  
Mr. Ladd .....  
Mr. Glavin .....  
Mr. Nichols .....  
Mr. Hendon .....  
Mr. Rosen .....  
Mr. Tracy .....  
Miss Gandy .....

## Sabotage Sifted In Army, Navy Plane Crashes

**Safety Services  
Checked in Loss of 23  
Ships, 53 Lives in '41**

By GRIFFING BANCROFT JR.

Army and Navy officials are conducting searching investigations into recent crashes of military airplanes for possible sabotage. It was disclosed yesterday as a survey showed that 23 Government planes have crashed during the last two months, taking 53 lives.

Officials said "every possible cause" is being studied in investigating the accidents, which have involved almost every type of military plane. All data, they said, will be used by laboratory and training experts to work out further safety devices for flying.

### Toll Relatively Lower

At the same time, military men repeatedly pointed out that while the compilation of total recent crashes seems high, if considered in the light of the great expansion of Army and Navy air activity, the disasters per flying hour will be relatively lower than heretofore.

The crashes have occurred throughout the country and in Hawaii and Panama. Investigations are conducted by local authorities in the field who forward reports to the War or Navy department.

While not disclosing details of any reports, officers said the main possible crash causes under study

### Year's Crashes Listed

Crashes since the first of the year, according to the unofficial survey, were:

Jan. 2.—An Army pursuit plane fell near Laredo, Tex., killing two and a naval bomber crashed at Edinburg, Tex. with one man dying.

Jan. 4.—A naval transport plunged into the mountains near San Diego, Cal., killing 11.

Jan. 6.—Two Army pursuits locked in midair over Honolulu and fell, killing one, and an Army trainer crashed at Barksdale Field, La., also killing one.

Jan. 7.—An Army medium bomber fell near Morton, Wash., with seven dying.

February 3.—An Army fighter lost a wing and fell near Northport, Long Island, killing one.

February 6.—An Army heavy bomber crashed near Lovelock, Nev., eight dying, and two Army pursuits crashed in midair over Farmingdale, N. Y., one being killed.

February 11.—Army trainer crashed near San Angelo, Tex., killing two.

On February 12 and 13 there were four Army pursuit plane crashes in Panama, three men dying.

February 18.—Two naval fighters collided over Pensacola, Fla., killing one.

February 21.—A long-range Army attack plane crashed near Athens, Ohio, killing two, and a Navy pursuit plunged into the sea off Norfolk, Va., carrying the pilot to death.

February 24.—Two naval bombers crashed near San Diego, one at sea and the other at land, killing four.

February 27.—An Army bomber fell into the sea near Panama, with a crew of seven.

### APARTMENT LOOTED.

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Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Foxworth	
Mr. Nathan	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tracy	
Miss Gandy	

## Crusading Mothers Just 'Tired'; Deny Senate Sit-Down Strike

Wanted to Replace Glass' 'Union Jack'  
With American Flag, Court Is Told

Instead of staging a "sit-down" strike in a manner amounting to disorderly conduct, as charged, members of the "Mothers Crusade Against Bill 1776" merely sat down on the cold stone floor of the Senate Office Building Friday because they became "tired" of waiting the arrival of Senator Carter Glass, of Virginia, to whom they wished to present an American flag to replace the British Union Jack, reported displayed in his office.

Such was the testimony of Mrs. L. R. Miller, of Quinter, Kans., first defense witness yesterday in the trial of Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling and Mrs. Clara Nibberich in Police Court, in connection with the unusual developments in the corridor outside of Senator Glass' office.

Such was the testimony of Mrs. L. R. Miller, of Quinter, Kans., first defense witness yesterday in the trial of Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling and Mrs. Clara Nibberich in Police Court, in connection with the unusual developments in the corridor outside of Senator Glass' office.

### Denies Chanting Song

Mrs. Miller, who announced the true blood of British aristocracy mingled in her veins with the red blood of the American Indians, denied the crusading mother were chanting, "Down With the Union Jack," as alleged, but conducted themselves in a quiet orderly manner during their half hour on the floor.

"We were all tired and exhausted, so we decided to sit down," Mrs. Miller explained. She said she sat beside the door of Senator Glass' office, at which two policemen were standing. She denied the women stuck out their legs in such a manner as to block the corridor. She also denied the women were ordered to "move on."

Mrs. Miller explained the crusading mothers merely wished to present an American flag "as a patriotic gesture" to Virginia's octogenarian Senator, who recent-

ly declared the United States should "shoot the hell" out of the Germans.

In answer to Senator Glass' expressed doubts that the women crusaders were mothers, Mrs. Miller said she had a son of draft age and also two daughters. She testified that she came to Washington at her own expense.

When Judge Hobart Newman wondered why the women were tired when the morning was yet young, Mrs. Miller said she had an injured ankle and the other women were exhausted from their efforts in urging Senators to vote against the Administration's lend-lease aid to Britain bill.

### Sat Nearly Half Hour

Mrs. Miller testified the women had been sitting near Glass' office for about 30 minutes when Lieut. William James, of the Capitol police, and another man arrived and ordered the corridor cleared. She quoted the policeman as saying:

"Let one preent the flag and the others disperse."

At that point, Mrs. Miller testified Mrs. Dilling told James that all the women wanted to present the flag. James, she said, demanded Mrs. Dilling's name and when she told him, the policeman said:

"Arrest her."

Mrs. Miller said Mrs. Nibberich was taken into custody as the officers placed Mrs. Dilling in the elevator. She said she thought the police pulled Mrs. Nibberich into the elevator. She denied Mrs. Nibberich tried to force her way into the elevator into which policemen had escorted Mrs. Dilling.

## New Evidence Of Murder Seen In Krivitsky Note

Passage Exonerating  
Soviet in Death  
Cited by Attorney

NEW YORK, March 3.—De-  
claring that a corrected version  
of Gen. Walter Krivitsky's "su-  
icide" note to his wife made it  
"a typical Soviet-inspired con-  
fession," Louis Waldman, attor-  
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original three death notes today.

Krivitsky's body, a bullet  
through the brain, was found  
prowled in a Washington, D. C.,  
hotel room on February 10—  
shortly after he revealed he would  
in fear of his life from OGPU  
agents because of his sensational  
revelations of Communist activi-  
ties.

### Open For New Evidence

A coroner's jury termed his  
death a suicide but the case will  
remain open for any new evi-  
dence that may be found.

Waldman said the new transla-  
tion of the note in question—  
written in Russian—corroborates  
the belief that Krivitsky was  
rounded to death by the OGPU  
and killed himself as part of a  
"bargain" to save his family.

"When the note was first made  
public, Washington police omitted  
our significant words in the third  
and last sentence of the body of  
the letter," Waldman asserted.

"The sentence, as first trans-  
lated, read:

"Good people will help you but  
no enemies."

### Soviet Technique

"The corrected translation  
takes that sentence read:

"Good people will help you but  
no enemies of the Soviet people."

"This is a traditional Soviet  
confession technique: To absolve  
the Soviet no matter what hap-  
pens and to blame yourself—as  
Krivitsky did in the very next  
sentence:

"I think my sins are great."

The complete corrected text of  
the letter, which was checked by  
Mrs. Krivitsky, reads:

"Dear Tanya and dear Alex:

"It is very difficult but I want  
badly to live, but I must not live  
any longer. I love you, my only  
ones. It is difficult for me to  
write, but think about me and  
realize that I must go. Also: Do  
not tell Alex where his father has  
gone. I believe that in time you  
will tell him because it will be  
best for him. Forgive, it is diffi-  
cult to write. Take care of him  
and be a good mother to him, as  
always.

### One Note in German

"Also be calm and never be  
angry with him. For he is al-  
ways so good and so pale. Good  
people will help you, but no ene-  
mies of the Soviet people. I think  
my sins are great. I see you  
Tanya and Alex and embrace you.

"Your

"WALTER."

The second note, in German,  
was addressed to Suzanne La Fol-  
lette, and the third, in English,  
was to Waldman.

Waldman asserted he could not  
understand why Washington po-  
lice did not reveal that the body  
was that of Krivitsky, since this  
last letter was clearly signed.

Under instructions of U. S. At-  
torney Edward M. Curran, in  
Washington, Waldman said, the  
original letters are being held by  
police there "as part of the evi-  
dence" in the case.

Mr. Tolson	.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm	.....
Mr. Clegg	.....
Mr. Foxworth	.....
Mr. Nathan	.....
Mr. Ladd	.....
Mr. Glavin	.....
Mr. Nichols	.....
Mr. Herndon	.....
Mr. Rosen	.....
Mr. Tracy	.....
Miss Gandy	.....

*Handwritten:* P.W. Marks

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CLIPPING FROM RICHMOND NEWS LEADER

DATE: 2-14-41

FORWARDED BY RICHMOND FIELD DIVISION

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. E. A. Tamm  
Mr. Clegg  
Mr. Glavin  
Mr. Ladd  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tracy  
Miss Gandy

### Is It Frontier Spirit?

When the former spy who called himself "General WALTER KRIVITSKY" committed suicide, we called attention to his observation that he had come to this State to purchase the weapon because it was the only State in which he could buy it. That, we said, ought not to be. Virginia should not serve as an arsenal for those who might want to purchase arms.

What we had in mind, of course, was the possibility that if war comes, subversive elements may seek to buy weapons to promote a program of sabotage. We do not know, for example, what Germany will do in the attempted incitation of *Bund* members to retard the defence program. If HANS HAKE was correctly informed in statements he made in *The Nation* (March 1), the Nazis have suspended temporarily their racial antagonism toward Negroes and are pursuing what they term a "colonial policy." In some prison camps, they have been pampering the French African prisoners. The Reich conceivably may undertake what we know they cannot achieve through Virginia Negroes—a campaign of conspiracy to stir that minority. Remote as is the prospect of German success in starting any sort of insurrection, we suggested that the firearms law be studied and, if need be, amended.

We have been much interested in the protests that statement has

brought. Aside from those persons who foolishly ruin their arguments by sprinkling them with reproaches or insults, several intelligent correspondents have maintained that the right to bear arms is constitutional, and that the exercise of that right still is an essential of self-defence. One writer from a rural district insisted that he had to carry a pistol to protect himself from marauders. Several correspondents argued that any firearms law would hamper the law-abiding citizen and would have no effect whatever on the criminal. Our citation of the comparative homicide rate of Virginia and of New York, which has a stern anti-pistol law, was challenged, though with no particularity.

The issue is not one of the first magnitude, to be sure, but the vigor with which a few of our correspondents insist on their right to bear arms may have some historical associations. Virginia's Bill of Rights included the familiar provision on the right to bear arms, primarily because GEORGE MASON remembered the British threats to disarm the colonists. In the background, perhaps, was the picture of the frontiersman with his rifle. Does that frontiersman still live in the heart of his descendants? We wonder. Some of those who oppose an anti-"pistol-toting" law might find it worth while to go behind the surface arguments and to see why their instincts prompt them to resist.

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# Police Bungled Krivitsky Probe, FBI Convinced

## Columnist Quotes Officials' Comment On Handling of Case

Federal Bureau of Investigation officials are convinced Washington police bungled investigation of the mysterious death of Walter Krivitsky, Leon Pearson, Times-Herald columnist, declared in a radio broadcast last night.

Krivitsky, former chief of Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe, was found shot to death in a room of the Bellevue Hotel, February 10. After considerable furore Washington police classified the death as suicide.

### At Odds Since 1929

Pearson, who spoke over station WOL, said the FBI and the local police department have been at odds since 1929, when the two police units clashed over investigation of the McPherson case.

First evidence of police "botching" of the Krivitsky case came in the hotel room itself, Pearson quoted the FBI official as saying. He referred to a hotel maid who cleaned up Krivitsky's room before police arrived at the scene.

"Any efficient police force would have a standing agreement with all hotels, that whenever an incident of this kind occurs, the scene should be left untouched," the FBI officer declared, according to Pearson.

Failure to run down clues attached to the missing death bullet and the suicide notes, were two other instances of police inefficiency pointed out by the FBI, Pearson said.

Pearson said he asked the FBI official if he believed Krivitsky had been murdered.

### Doubts of Public

"He refused to go so far," the columnist reported. "He did make the point quite strongly, however, that he thought it a mistake to handle such cases in such a way that the public would have doubts about the findings of the police. And he believes the public does have doubts in this case."

"In other words," Pearson continued, "it was not handled expertly enough to satisfy everybody beyond a reasonable doubt, that Krivitsky had committed suicide."

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. E. A. Tamm ☒  
Mr. Clegg ☐  
Mr. Pennington ☐  
Mr. Glavin ☐  
Mr. Ladd ☐  
Mr. Nichols ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☐  
Mr. Carson ☐  
Mr. Quinn Tamm ☐  
Mr. Hendon ☐  
Mr. Tracy ☐  
Miss Gandy ☐

R. K. ...

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WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD  
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I.N.P. Soundphoto

## Espionage Revealed to Reporter

Betty Fraser, pretty reporter for the Ottawa Journal, was revealed yesterday as the girl to whom Ivor Gosenko, attached to the Russian Embassy, told the fantastic story of espionage. According to the Journal, Gosenko and his wife are now in protective custody.



GEN. WALTER KRIVITSKY  
Linked to Atom Plot

## Krivitsky's Death Still a Mystery

Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky's death in Washington on February 10, 1941, created an international mystery which has never been cleared up to the satisfaction of anyone concerned.

Krivitsky was found shot to death in his room in the Bellvue Hotel. Although a .38 caliber automatic and three suicide notes were found in the room and the case was dismissed as self-destruction by local police the death of the former OGPU agent retains an air of mystery to this day.

It was considered significant that Krivitsky was dead after he had revealed the secrets of Soviet espionage throughout the world in testimony before the Dies Committee and in a series of magazine articles.

His attorney, Leo Waldman, contended that the suicide notes were forged. Others, pointing out that in one of the notes, Krivitsky stated he did not "want to die," contended that the renegade Soviet secret agent had been hounded to death by his former associates.

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Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Carson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Hendon \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FEB 21 1941

WASHINGTON TIMES-HERALD

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## Russian Suicide Here Linked To Canada Spy Disclosures<sup>3</sup>

Ottawa, Feb. 20 (U.P.)—Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky, former chief Soviet intelligence agent in western Europe who died mysteriously in

Washington in 1941, was unofficially linked today with the unmasking of an espionage ring in Canada.

High sources disclosed that information given to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police by Krivitsky several years ago was invaluable in the investigation of the plot.

Several years ago Krivitsky hid here for three months under police protection. He feared an attempt would be made to "liquidate" him for his public disclosures about the Soviet spy system.

Krivitsky was found shot dead in a room at the Bellevue Hotel, 15 E st. nw., Washington, on February 10, 1941. The case was officially listed as suicide, but his family and friends maintained that Krivitsky whose real name was Samuel Ginsberg, was murdered.

Informants said that the information given by Krivitsky was brought up to date by Ivor Gosenko, the young Soviet embassy employee whose tip led to discovery of the spy ring. Like Krivitsky, Gosenko now is hiding under police protection.

Today's disclosures indicated that the espionage organization had operated since the early days of the war.

Krivitsky forecast the Russo-German alliance in articles written in the United States before the war. He fled France in 1938 for the United States because, he said, Soviet agents were following him. In both Canada and the United States he reported at various times that Russian agents were shadowing him.

Meanwhile, counsel for two of the 13 persons held by the Mounted Police here indicated they would move soon to release their clients.

Briton Corroborates Byrnes

Birmingham, England, Feb. 20 (U.P.)—Prof. M. L. E. Oliphant, British physicist who worked on the atomic bomb, said today that knowledge of one of the final stages of the bomb's manufacture was withheld by the United States from Britons who shared in its preparation.

Confirming United States Secretary of State Byrnes' statement of Tuesday that the bomb's secret remains with the United States, Oliphant said that British atomic scientists had not felt themselves privileged to talk about it, until Byrnes told the world yesterday.

Mr. E. A. Tamm  
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Mr. Hendon  
Mr. Pennington  
Mr. Quinn Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Miss Gandy

# Krivitsky Slain, Says Chambers

Hotel Death Here  
Was Ruled Suicide

WESTMINSTER, Md., Dec. 20 (INS)—Whittaker Chambers declared today that Gen. Walter Krivitsky, Communist underground leader, was murdered in Washington in 1941 because he had broken with the Soviet Union.

Chambers, in an interview at his Maryland farm, disclosed that for more than a year he sheltered Krivitsky's widow, Tonia, and her son, Alek, because they feared they had been marked for Red vengeance.

Krivitsky perished of a bullet wound in a Washington hotel room. Police officially labeled the case suicide. But Chambers insisted that Krivitsky was slain by Communist agents.

## Tells of Paris Attempt

Chambers, central figure in the current Communist espionage case which has resulted in indictment of Alger Hiss, former State department official, told the Baltimore News-Post:

"Krivitsky was my friend. I am certain that he was killed by agents of the Red underground. Before he was murdered in Washington there had been an attempt to assassinate him in Paris."

Chambers, former senior editor of Time magazine, said Krivitsky was an "old Bolshevik" who took part in the 1917 revolution and became an officer in the Red army in 1920. Later, Chambers went on, Krivitsky was named head of the Communist underground in western Europe.

## Second Red Murder Disclosed

Unfolding the Krivitsky story further, Chambers declared:

"Krivitsky's second in command was a man named Ignatz Reiss, who became disillusioned and decided to break with Moscow. Reiss showed Krivitsky a personal letter he sent to Stalin, which began:

"To the murderer of the Kremlin's cellars—I am returning my decorations and resuming my liberty of action..."

"A short time after Reiss sent the letter to Stalin, Reiss was murdered."

## Fled to America

"Krivitsky, now also disillusioned with communism, became a marked man. He decided to flee to America."

"An attempt to assassinate him was made at the Gare du Nord in Paris as he was about to board a train for a French port."

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After

## Chambers Hid Family Of Krivitsky

Whittaker Chambers, top witness in the current Communist spy investigation, declared yesterday he had hidden the widow and son of former Red Army Gen. Walter G. Krivitsky on his Maryland farm for more than a year.

General Krivitsky, former Red spy who turned Stalin-hater and came to this country, was found shot to death in the Bellevue Hotel here on the morning of February 10, 1941.

While his death was officially listed as a suicide by Washington police and Coroner A. MacDonal, Chambers said yesterday he was "convinced" that Krivitsky had been "murdered by Communist agents." There had been a previous attempt on his life, Chambers said.

### Wrote About Red Spies

Krivitsky had written magazine articles on Russian espionage and had told the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities of Stalin agents in the United States Army and Navy.

Chambers' statements were made in an interview with the Baltimore News-Post, published yesterday. The interview was at his farm, near Westminster, Md., where microfilm evidence of stolen Government documents, hidden in a pumpkin, was recently given by Chambers to investigators of the Un-American Activities Committee.

Chambers said his family and the Krivitskys had become quite friendly because both he and Krivitsky, who had changed his name from Samuel Ginsburg in 1919, had broken with the Communists.

"Fearing that Mrs. Krivitsky and her son also had been marked for death by the Red underground in America," he told the News-Post, "I took them in. Her entire family had been wiped out by the Reds in Europe, and she needed someone to help her."

### After a Year

After they spent more than a year on a farm he previously owned and on his present one without any attempt against them, they left, Chambers added, but would not say where they are living now.

Chambers described Krivitsky as an "old Bolshevik" who joined in the 1917 revolution, became an Army officer in 1920, and later was named head of the Communist underground in western Europe.

After he broke with the Communists, Krivitsky fled to Holland, and decided to come to this country. In Paris, while waiting on a station platform for a boat train to Le Havre, he was fired on by NKVD agents under the eyes of French police, Chambers said. Krivitsky told him.

### Finally Judged a Suicide

During the police investigation into the Krivitsky shooting, Coroner MacDonal first issued a suicide certificate, then recalled it after acquaintances of Krivitsky said they believed he was assassinated by Russian secret police.

A note to his wife, Tonia, and his son, Alex, then I said, "I want to live very badly, but it is impossible."

On October 12, Inspector Bernard W. Thompson, chief of detectives, announced, "Now, as before, we are convinced that Krivitsky killed himself," and the case was closed.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Clegg \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Glavin \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ladd \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tracy \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Egan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gurnea \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Pennington \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Quinn Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Whittaker*

*KRIVITSKY*  
*Chambers*

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Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Who Killed Krivitsky?

# 25 Years Ago, a Soviet Master Spy Was Shot He —Some Called It Suicide, Others Cried Murder

**By Flora Lewis**

Washington Post Staff Writer

**T**HE MAID found the body at 9:30 Monday morning, Feb. 10, 1941, when she went in to clean up the room. She opened the door with a passkey that hung in the hall linen closet and saw the man's feet and legs on the bed, lying the wrong way round with the feet toward the head of the bed. He was wearing trousers and socks, so she went on in to ask what time she could come back without disturbing him. He didn't answer.

When the police sergeant came about half an hour later, the maid, Thelma Virginia Jackson, 21, told him: "So I walked on over to the bed and looked and I saw he had blood all over his head . . . Then I saw he wasn't breathing. . ."

It was a modest description. A 130-grain mushroom bullet, the kind with a scooped head to make a larger wound. It had been fired from a .38 automatic at close range. It had torn through the man's brains from the right temple to below the left ear, leaving a hole the size of a substantial potato. The bullet was lost somewhere in the hotel room wall. The dead man was slight, gray, unprepossessing, fully dressed apart from shoes and jacket. There was nothing about him or the room that looked important: a brown canvas satchel, a photograph of a boy, three notes written respectively in English, German and Russian. The gun, covered thickly with drying blood, lay on the floor.

### A Genteel Setting

**A6** AN OBVIOUS CASE of homicide, Det. Sgt. **FLIGHT 25** **1955** **1955** He made the routine possession and identity checks, sent for the morgue wagon

~~and left the hotel staff to clear up the~~  
~~mess.~~

The death of a guest is always an embarrassment for a hotel, and it was all the more jarring in the genteel but modest atmosphere of the Hotel Bellevue, 15 E st. nw.

The dead man was not known at the Bellevue. He had come in only the afternoon before and had done or said nothing remarkable except to die. It seemed such a typical transient tragedy that the police were not even intrigued by the discovery that he had registered under the name of Walter Poref but carried in his pocket a formal affidavit identifying him as Samuel Ginsberg, born in Russia in 1899.

The note in English was in an envelope addressed to Louis Waldman, 205 Broadway, New York. Accustomed to misleading hotel registrations and probably thinking little of it, Washington police wired New York police asking them to inform Waldman of the death of Samuel Ginsberg and to request instructions for disposal of the body.

## A Hunted Spy

WALDMAN RECEIVED the police call that afternoon. That broke it.

He immediately identified Ginsberg as Walter Krivitsky, formerly ~~chief of~~ Soviet military intelligence in Western Europe, a master spy who had known many secrets, turned against Stalin and spilled a few, been marked and hunted since by Soviet agents.

More than once Krivitsky had said to Waldman, who was his lawyer, "If ever I am found dead and it looks like an accident or suicide, don't believe it. They are after me. They have tried before." Waldman knew that the dead man had said the same thing to several other people.

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_

The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_

The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_

New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_

New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_

New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_

New York Post \_\_\_\_\_

The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_

The Baltimore Sun \_\_\_\_\_

The Worker \_\_\_\_\_

The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_

The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_

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An obvious case of murder, the law-  
yer concluded. He flew to Washington  
and demanded an FBI investigation. It  
was refused. He asked for the homicide  
division's file. It was refused. He went  
to the Bellevue to look at room 532, a  
simple room furnished with narrow  
twin beds, dresser, desk, chair and a  
reproduction of a forest scene. The  
police said the door had been locked  
from the inside. The maid had not said  
whether she tested the door or not, only  
that she had stuck her passkey in the  
hole and opened it.

The window, overlooking what was  
then a jumble of shacks and is now a  
parking lot, was open a few inches. But  
it was the fifth floor and there was no  
ledge or fire escape by which anyone  
could enter the room through the win-  
dow.

The lock on the door was not auto-  
matic. Even with the latch shut, it  
opened easily to a passkey and was  
the ~~crude~~ type that probably would  
have opened to almost anything, in-  
cluding a sturdy toothpick.

### Neighbors Both Sides

THE SUITE to the left of Krivitsky's  
room and the room to the right  
had been occupied. The walls and  
doors are not thick. Sometimes hotel  
residents complained of hearing every  
telephone conversation, every snore  
and snort of their neighbors.

There was no silencer on the gun  
found beside the body. Yet no one  
in the hotel said he had heard a shot  
between the time Krivitsky arrived, at  
5:49 p. m. Sunday, according to the  
register, and the time his body was  
found Monday morning. The police  
surgeon placed the probable time of  
death at about 4 a. m., a quiet hour  
when there are few other sounds to  
muffle a shot.

No one knew of any calls or visitors  
for the man in 532, though the hotel  
is big enough for people to come and  
go at normal hours without attract-  
ing notice. From the time he entered  
his room until he was carried away  
to the morgue, the only evident ac-  
tivity of the man in 532 as far as the  
hotel staff knew had been to order  
a bottle of club soda.

A bellboy took it to him, went down-  
stairs with the dollar bill offered in  
payment and went back up with the  
change. That was between 6:30 and  
7 Sunday evening.

Randolph Thompson, 29, the bellboy,  
told police when asked if the man ap-  
peared despondent, "He appeared to

me to be just like all foreign people,  
quiet and solemn." John Vernon Wal-  
son, 30, the elevator operator, said to  
the same question, "He seemed to be  
just like anyone else would be."

There was no sign of a scuffle in  
the room and nothing appeared to have  
been removed or disordered.

### A Trotsky Parallel

IN ADDITION to Waldman, most of  
Krivitsky's friends and a number  
of other people who knew of him but  
had not met him made immediate  
public statements of their conviction  
that he had been murdered by the  
Soviet secret police.

Mrs. Leon Trotsky, widow of the  
revolutionary leader who had been  
murdered in Mexico the summer be-  
fore, declared: "Krivitsky's death was  
not a suicide. That suicide theory is  
just one of the OGPU's many schemes  
to attempt to cover up its murders.  
Stalinists, for example, tried to make  
the first unsuccessful attempt on Trot-  
sky appear as self-assault."

Alexander Kerensky, head of the  
short-lived Russian government that  
overthrew the Czar and fell to the Bol-  
sheviks, said in New York: "I am sure  
it was murder. . . . If it was not a  
murder, -then it was a suicide pro-  
voked by a direct menace. I under-  
stand that they had been menacing  
his son, whom he loved dearly."

Krivitsky's widow had no doubt that  
her husband had been killed. Suzanne  
LaFollette, a close friend to whom the  
note in German was addressed, said  
that Krivitsky had previously been ap-  
proached by three OGPU agents. "One  
of them told him to stay out of the  
midtown area of New York if he  
didn't want to get into trouble. The  
man said, 'We work in threes and  
we've been on the lookout for you  
constantly.'"

### A Newspaper Flurry

ALL THIS was prominently pub-  
lished in Washington, New York  
and other major newspapers for a day  
or two after his death. For about ten  
days more, Hearst papers and various  
columnists who regularly called atten-  
tion to Communist activities gave spec-  
tacular reviews of Krivitsky's dra-  
matic story and echoed the demand  
for an official investigation of his  
death. Several newspapers and colum-  
nists sympathetic to the left counter-  
attacked with fierce mockery at the  
suggestion that Stalin's arm reached  
to a Washington hotel room.

But nobody did anything; there  
wasn't much to be done. Krivitsky was  
found dead on Feb. 10, 1941. On June

22, 1941, Nazi Germany invaded  
Soviet Union. On Dec. 7, the Japan  
bombed Pearl Harbor and the Uni-  
States and Russia soon became allies.  
Few people wanted to think further  
in those months about the death  
of one strange and difficult man.

But he had been an extraordinary  
man. His life also was extraordinary.  
Its secrets enmeshed with the ugly  
secrets of a world in venomous struggle.

Now, a quarter of a century after  
his death, the FBI files on Krivitsky  
and those inherited by the CIA remain  
sealed, as are Moscow's files. In part  
that is probably because they identify  
agents and double agents who are  
active or might turn up again.

Mostly, though, it must be because  
the things in which Krivitsky was  
broiled cast a long, unpleasant shadow  
that has not yet blurred painless  
with history. On the contrary, it  
has sharpened outlines that were hazy  
and less confused when Krivitsky lived  
and died.

### A Period Illuminated

THE WAY the world has gone  
unraveled some of the mysteries  
around the man with his head broken  
to pieces on a hotel bed, and Krivitsky's  
mystery holds clues to larger riches.  
If there is still no certain solution,  
there is enlightening evidence in  
case about a period and a kind of  
mentality that spawned some of the  
aching problems of today. In Krivitsky's  
bland reaction at the time of his death  
lay also one of the keys to its  
travails.

One way or another, the tragedy  
be traced with a certain logical  
inevitability to Krivitsky's life and times.  
His name at birth was indeed Szymon  
Ginsberg. What he first saw of the  
world was the dusty lethargy of a  
small town of Podwoloczyska, Ru-  
sia, ruled when he was born June 28,  
1891, Polish between the great wars and  
of Russia again after the shift in  
land's borders following World War I.

Jews in such small towns  
pressed warmly together against a  
stale, heavy-handed world, a life of  
melancholy and abrasives to shield  
the wits of those who had them. Szymon  
Ginsberg did. Sensitive, keen-  
ed, alert, he grew into a slight  
wiry child, independent, passionately  
eager to throw his meager weight  
against the oppressiveness of the  
he saw.

Later he wrote: "At the age  
I had entered the working-class  
movement. It was a half-mature, half-  
ish act. I heard the plaintive moans  
of a suffering race mingled with  
songs of freedom."



"But in 1917, I was a youngster of 18, and the Bolshevik Revolution came to me as an absolute solution of all problems of poverty, inequality, injustice. I joined the Bolshevik Party with my whole soul. I seized the Marxist and Leninist faith as a weapon with which to assault all the wrongs against which I had instinctively rebelled."

### Behind-Lines Saboteur

IT WAS NOT an idle metaphor. Like many of his comrades, Ginsberg took a revolutionary name—Walter Krivitsky—and became a serious fighter, tough, guileful, uninhibited by any other ties in devotion to his cause. He was worth more than the gun he carried.

In the Russian civil war that followed the revolution, he was sent behind the White army's lines in the Ukraine to organize sabotage, intelligence, resistance at the enemy's rear. He so distinguished himself at these guerrilla tasks, which he called "missions of a revolutionary-military character," that at the conclusion of the war he was sent to the Red army's general staff courses and assigned to military intelligence.

It was still the proletarian-style army of Trotsky's creation, without formal rank, and Krivitsky's position of Kombrig (commander of a brigade) did not entitle him to be addressed as general, though it was the equivalent of brigadier. Later he was made Komdiv (commander of a division), the equivalent of major general.

But his assignments were always "revolutionary-military," with emphasis on the former, though in a hard-nosed, practical way without much windy oratory or feverish agitation. Even when propaganda was part of his job, he was the organizer, the arranger of deals and coups, not the spouter.

His first experience as an export technician in revolution came in Germany in 1923. Lenin thought the Bolsheviks could not survive without another major industrial country as partner, and he thought that Germans, despoiled by inflation and fuming with anger at French occupation of the Rhineland were ripe for revolt.

It was a devastating miscalculation for the German Communists, who were crushed. But the ardent Krivitsky determined to save something from the wreckage. Out of the organization built to make a German revolution, he created an extensive network of reliable agents.

Despite many later disasters, the roots were firm enough to provide top-level intelligence from the German

high command throughout World War II. So prompt and efficient was the system that there were times when Soviet commanders at the front must have received almost simultaneously the disposition and attack orders sent from Berlin to the Nazi commanders facing them.

### Revolutionary Romance

THROUGHOUT THE twenties, Krivitsky moved surreptitiously from Moscow to France, Holland, Switzerland, Italy and Austria. He had not gone unnoticed when he tried to organize a Red German army, however, and in 1926 he had to hide out from the Berlin police in the Soviet Embassy for two months. After that, he dealt with the German network mostly from the periphery.

In Vienna at one point, he met another Soviet revolutionist, a striking blond named Antonina Porfirjeva. She was from Leningrad (St. Petersburg when she was born there Feb. 18, 1902) and as different from Krivitsky as the sparkling Russian north from the heavy-scented, swarthy south.

He was the intense, electric-minded intellectual. She was the broad-cheeked, sentimental Slav, to him the sturdy, all-embracing soul of Mother Russia. They shared their devotion to the Soviet cause and it was not necessary to sort out whether ideology counted a little more for one and proud patriotism for the other, since the two urges fused for both in glowing satisfaction.

In 1926, they married in Moscow. The marriage register gave his name as Walter Krivitsky. The Ginsberg past was far behind him. The reality was the revolutionary.

Necessity made it an intricate and shifting reality. They lived in many places under many names, carried many different colored passports.

Once, Krivitsky told a friend much later, he was traveling north from Rome on an Italian train. He was engaged in obtaining for Russia the blueprints of a new Italian submarine. The task took over a year and many trips, but was successful in the end.

Extractors of the highest secrets must be highly secretive. An old acquaintance happened to see Krivitsky on the train and greeted him for what he was, a good and long-standing friend. "I just stared blankly at him," Krivitsky said, "as though I didn't even speak his language."

He had learned to perfection all the arts of espionage, including the suppression of instinctive little human reactions and total attention to detail, which are the hardest. Such well-tempered armor is bound to steel the man inside, as well.

### Early Anti-Stalinist

THAT HARDNESS helped as Krivitsky unavoidably noticed the way reality was shifting inside the Soviet Union. He wrote later with cold and savage contempt of the way Stalin maneuvered the Red Army into supporting the vicious collectivization drive of the thirties and the initial purges of Old Bolsheviks.

Krivitsky always knew what was going on, partly because of his position and partly because of his mind.

That precision instrument that came spring to understanding of the devious manipulations at a nudge of the simplest, most trivial-seeming fact.

"I saw from him how a master mind works," his American law

Louis Waldman, recalled later. "One day we were coming back from the Island on the ferry after an immigration hearing. Krivitsky was reading papers. The headlines were full of negotiations going on in Europe for collective security against the Germans."

"It must have been late 1938 or early 1939. He didn't pay much attention to the main news, but suddenly was the back of the paper he saw a paragraph item and grew terribly excited."

"'Look at this,' he shouted. 'The going to be a war. Stalin will not fight against Poland.'

"The item," Waldman continued, "was a dull little bit about the use of old films from the 1919-20 Russo-Polish war in the new training course for the Red Army. Krivitsky said it meant that secret preparations had started for a Soviet move on Poland and that Red Army soldiers were being unusually accustomed to consider Poland as the obvious enemy. It seemed absolutely preposterous at the time."

### A Distressing Order

FROM WHAT he said afterward, Krivitsky's soul no doubt squirmed with disappointment and distaste at many things he saw and foresaw in Russia all through the bewildered thirties. But he believed in his country and he was trained to serve it without question.

It distressed him when, in December 1936, a time when Hitler was dumping Communists in concentration camps and Moscow was publicly scouring the world for allies against Germany, he was told that his espionage network in Germany must be leashed. Moscow and Berlin were on the verge of an agreement, he was told, and now must be done to upset Hitler. He obeyed.

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It was in September, 1935, that Krivitsky established himself as chief of Soviet military intelligence in Western Europe. He had offices in Paris, agents everywhere, and made his headquarters comfortably in The Hague, where he posed as an Austrian dealer in rare books. His wife Tonya and small son Alek, born not long before, accompanied him there. Outwardly, he led the roving but placid existence of a collector of handsome, interesting, harmless old volumes. In fact, it was a life with sudden bursts of frenetic activity, breathless dashes from city to city, excruciating periods of enforced waiting, and always nagging worries.

### A Literal Cover

SOON AFTER he settled in The Hague, Krivitsky got his first lead on what was to become a major espionage coup and old books became not only the cover for a spy but themselves a repository of secrets.

Germany and Japan, he learned, were secretly negotiating an agreement that would mean war in the Pacific as well as in Europe when the moment came. It was of vital importance to the Soviet Union, not only because of the military meaning of possible war on two fronts of its vast territory but also because Stalin himself was secretly seeking an exclusive agreement with Hitler.

Krivitsky's performance was a masterpiece of intrigue. The German-Japanese talks were so secret that not even the German Foreign Office knew they were taking place. It was not possible to penetrate them from the German side. However, the Nazis had succeeded in breaking—or perhaps stealing—the Japanese diplomatic codes.

Krivitsky managed to buy the codes from the SS, though without of course explaining how Soviet intelligence meant to use them. They were smuggled out of Berlin in a valuable early edition of Francis Bacon, secretly defaced with markings to indicate the coding keys.

Then Krivitsky's agents in Berlin got hold of the full file of the Japanese negotiator's cabled reports to Tokyo on the talks and established a tap on further correspondence. The files were smuggled out on microfilm. With the codes, a first-rate translator of Japanese, microfilm technicians and couriers, Krivitsky worked feverishly in Holland to speed the sinister news to Moscow.

Later, with the pylons for this network well established, he was also able to tell Moscow of the secret Japanese decision not to attack the Soviet Union in the event of a Pacific war. That was information worth many divisions.

### Even Used Fascists

MOST OF THE people he worked with were trusted Communists, but not all. His task was concrete action and he used whatever tools he found.

In the case of the Italian submarine, the key to success was a high-ranking Fascist who loved money even more than he loved Mussolini.

Krivitsky's duty and his interests brought him intimate knowledge of the underside of high politics in Russia and Western Europe, and he had learned to take it as it came. In his mind's eye, he was still an idealist, driven purely by the passion for a better, kinder world. But his mind's hands had grown horny in dealing with harsh facts and his mind's stomach had been inured against revulsion.

He was the complete professional, fully equipped to set off without cavil the dirty means against the distant shining ends. Or so he and his superiors supposed.

But it wasn't always easy. Each trip back to Moscow chewed further at the galvanized protection against doubt. The terror there, as the juggernaut of the purges rolled on, was undeniable. The Revolution had been god. Now, in the mid-thirties, Stalin had come to proclaim himself the Revolution.

Penetrating minds like Krivitsky's trembled, and shrank to find solace in narrower loyalties, more distant horizons. He watched the Old Bolsheviks being cut down with cringing confessions of imaginary treason. It was much harder for him when the plague turned on the Red Army, his home in the Revolution.

### A Personal Jolt

AFTERWARD, exposing Soviet collusion with Nazis on the forgeries that provided props for the Red Army purge of 1937, Krivitsky was able to write: "It is one thing to consign to the firing squad batches of politicians, such as Zinoviev or Kamenev. It is another to wipe out the helmsmen of a nation's war machine.

"Would Stalin dare to shoot a figure like Marshal Tukhachevsky or a leader like Gamarnik, Vice Commissar of War (and Krivitsky's admired chief in intelligence), at such a critical international moment? Would he dare to leave the Soviet power defenseless before its enemies by decapitating the Red Army?"

Stalin did. Krivitsky quivered but said nothing. When he went to Moscow in March, 1937, Krivitsky felt after a time that the delay in being sent back to his post was getting ominous. Stoi-

cally, he messaged his wife in The Hague to prepare to return to Moscow with their child, though by then an army officer could be sure of survival at home.

When, after all, he was dispatched once more to Western Europe, he took his reassignment as bestowal by Stalin "of the highest testimonial of loyalty within his power." There was so much pride in that, despite the waves of nauseous misgiving he had begun to feel.

For another top Soviet agent, an old and close comrade of Krivitsky's, pride was already drowned by overwhelming disgust and disillusion. Ernst Reiss, who worked under the code name of Ludwig in Western Europe and had connections with America, could swallow the ravishment of his beliefs no longer. He wrote a letter to Stalin, and he wrote to his favorite in the network under him, declaring his defection.

Krivitsky knew that Reiss was wavering. A few hours before an appointment with his friend, at which Reiss presumably meant to reveal his decision, a high Soviet police official insisted on seeing Krivitsky in Paris. The police, then called the OGPU, gradually moved in on military intelligence so that all Soviet agents abroad came under OGPU orders.

Spiegelglass, the police official specially from Moscow, showed Krivitsky the letter Reiss had just written. He had intercepted it before it left Paris. The letter ended: "No, I cannot continue any longer. I am turning to freedom. Back to Lenin, his teachings and his cause." To Krivitsky was cautiously but unmistakably asked to help trap his friend "the traitor."

### A Silent Caller

HE DELAYED and evaded, managing to warn Reiss to escape. The technique of warning that Krivitsky chose captured precisely the nightmarish fantasy of the atmosphere among "comrades" in that summer of 1937.

He was sitting with Spiegelglass, another agent in a restaurant at Paris World Fair. There was gallant pleasure, light-hearted elegance around them. From time to

after midnight, Spiegelglass was apparently to confer with other agents stationed nearby. Each time, Krivitsky sneaked to a pay telephone. Reiss and hung up as soon as there was an answer. It would have been beyond daring to say even one

Reiss understood at last and f

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dawn the next morning. He didn't last long, though. On Sept. 4, 1937, Reiss's body, riddled with machine gun bullets, was found beside a lonely road in Switzerland.

The Swiss police acted quickly and energetically. That assassination was solved: murder by the OGPU after Reiss had been lured to a rendezvous by a woman who had worked under him and had hinted that she was about to join him in defection.

Krivitsky felt sure that he had badly blotted his copybook by refusing to help kill Reiss. After that, he too was under constant surveillance by Soviet agents in Paris.

The Reiss murder carried his mental processes one step further. Even the intimate loyalty to a dear friend was not to be allowed him. He still planned to return to Moscow, but he had come to understand, as he later wrote, that "the choice before me was between a sure bullet in the Lubyanka (the OGPU headquarters and prison in Moscow) from Stalin's formal assassins and a rain of bullets from a machine gun outside Russia from Stalin's informal assassins."

It was at the end of September, dogged at every step, that he made what he called "the momentous decision of my life." His wife asked him his chances for survival if they returned to Moscow. He answered, he wrote later, that there was none.

"But there is no reason you should be punished on account of me," he added. "When you get back, they will make you sign a paper repudiating me and denouncing me as a traitor. As a reward for this, you and our child will be spared. As for me, it's sure death over there. I will not go to certain slaughter."

### Aided by French

**T**ONYA KRIVITSKY decided to defect with her husband. The escape had to be carefully planned. Krivitsky planned it with the same detailed care he had always given to his work. Paul Wohl, a Central European who had known him before, helped him and secured the protection of the French police and the patronage of the French Socialist Premier, Leon Blum.

The Krivitskys surrendered their false documents to the French Minister of Interior, and in the appeal for asylum, Krivitsky wrote: "I know that a price has been put on my head. The assassins are after me, and they will not spare even my wife or child."

(He knew that Gertrud Schildbach, who had lured Ignatz Reiss to his death, had been ordered to kill Reiss by giving the family a box of chocolates filled with strychnine. She was

fond of the Reiss child and apparently could not bring herself to do this, so the roadside ambushcade was arranged instead. The poisoned chocolates were found in her Lausanne hotel room after she had fled.)

Krivitsky added in his appeal, "I have often risked my life for my cause, but I do not wish to die for nothing . . ."

It was on Oct. 6, 1937, that Krivitsky finally made his break. Twice in the months that followed in France, he was approached by a handsome young Dutchman named Hans Bruesse, whom Krivitsky had recruited for the Soviet service. The first encounter convinced him that Bruesse, who had been an extremely warm friend, had been detailed to lure him to the same fate as that of Reiss.

Krivitsky was wary, he knew the tricks. The French police were vigilant. They guarded him night and day. But the detective inspector assigned to him was unable to catch Bruesse and three colleagues when an actual attempt was made on Krivitsky.

Krivitsky decided that he must go much farther from Moscow in search of a life at peace. Paul Wohl helped him get to the United States. He arrived early in 1938, preceded by a buzz of excitement among the small circle of Russian exiles and journalists who followed Soviet affairs closely and had read the few anti-Stalinist articles which Krivitsky published in European socialist newspapers after his defection.

They knew that he carried treasures of information in his head, even about Soviet secret activities in America, though he had never worked here. No body else in the United States had ever heard of Krivitsky, nor paid him any attention now.

### Stalin His Scapegoat

**H**E KNEW the details of many kidnappings and executions carried out by Soviet agents far beyond the borders of the Soviet Union. He also knew the Soviet mentality—perhaps the only one he knew. It allowed, in Stalin's time at least, for no wavering. There could be no such thing as resignation from a task assigned because it caused a crisis of conscience. He who did not obey perfectly, accept everything, was a traitor.

In his own heart, Krivitsky found an answer for himself. He still loved the revolutionary ideals that had become the meaning of his life, but he hated Stalin. It was Stalin, he reasoned, who had betrayed the revolution, not those whom Stalin called traitors.

But Krivitsky knew that his view had the force of a flea against an

elephant in the power circumstances of the time. By Moscow's definition he was a traitor and marked for punishment. There was method in Moscow's attitude. Men like Krivitsky knew too much. And if they got away, their example might encourage others.

Even when he came to the United States, Krivitsky knew he could never really share the comfortable safety that was taken for granted by the crowds he mingled with on the streets. It distressed and at the same time profoundly impressed him.

Once, when he recognized a Soviet agent in New York and called the police in fear, he was told that nothing could be done because it was impossible to arrest a person in the United States before a crime was attempted.

"Imagine," he told his friend Suzanne Lafollette. "What a wonderful country. People are free unless they actually commit crimes." By that time in Russia, it was getting to seem that only criminals could go free. Things were different in the United States, much more than Krivitsky at first realized. In this country, too, it was a strange time.

### A Time of Schism

**T**HE TERRIBLE strains of the depression were over, but in many ways this was still a divided and bewildered country when Walter Krivitsky arrived in early 1938. President Roosevelt was trying, gradually and cautiously, to bring the country to a mood of support for the European democracies against the wild blatherings of Hitler.

British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain was putting off in small planes of the time for reconciliation meetings with Hitler.

Krivitsky knew the dirty little truth that made up so much of what was really going on. Sometimes it pressed him; sometimes it made him furiously impatient that Americans not only did not know, but so often refused to listen.

### An Upstate Refuge

**F**ROM HIS POINT of view, Americans must have looked full of contradictory quirks. He had a wife and a son, no money, no profession but a revolutionist and spy, which were not the "help wanted" lists. A number of people were kind to him; a cottage was found for him in upstate New York and he spent the summer there, calving his breath.

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Another refugee couple, Eitel and Marguerite Doherty, lived nearby. Doherty had been a Nazi in his youth, had quit in disgust as Hitler came to power and was as obsessed as Krivitsky with the politics of Europe. The families became close friends. Other friends, mainly Paul Wohl at the beginning, sought to help Krivitsky launch his new life.

His one asset was his knowledge. It seemed self-evident that he should seek to earn his living by writing, and it seemed a satisfying outlet for the warnings he so badly wanted to give a heedless world.

But in a strange country and a strange language, he needed agents

and collaborators. Friends introduced him to Isaac Don Levine, a Russian-speaking writer fluent in the special skills of popular journalism, highly knowledgeable in Communist affairs, warm, voluble and above all judicious in marketing exciting articles.

Krivitsky could make a series of hair-raising revelations. Don Levine automatically sought the widest, most rewarding market. The Saturday Evening Post agreed to pay \$5000 each for a series of up to eight articles on Levine's word alone of what could be expected. In the end, only five were produced. For a penniless political refugee, it was a fortune.

And it proved to be a serious, finally overwhelming, problem. Don Levine knew his public and how to attract them. The first article, detailing underhanded Soviet machinations in Spain, set the subject and then began: "I happen to be the sole survivor abroad of the group of Soviet officers and officials who had a direct hand in organizing Soviet intervention in Spain, and am the only one who is now free to bare this dramatic chapter of current history . . . I was on the inside . . . I held in my hands the main keys to Stalin's foreign policy . . ."

It was effective, but it wasn't Krivitsky's tone of voice or cast of mind. He would have preferred sedate, analytical articles on the Foreign Affairs Quarterly model or, even better, in the heavy, guttural tones of the European socialist journals. But Levine knew that the Saturday Evening Post wasn't paying \$5000 a piece to bore its readers.

### Between Two Desires

LEVINE DRAMATIZED and sharpened and personalized. Krivitsky squabbled and complained bitterly. Levine wanted details, names, precise sensations. Krivitsky held back, ducked, bickered, torn between the satisfaction

of revealing Stalin's monstrous conspiracies and lies and the desire ~~to~~ to protect old comrades, old ideals, old devotions.

He still loved Russia. Sometimes, he told a friend, he would go down to the New York docks just to stare for hours at the Russian ships in the harbor. The nostalgia was not only for a country; it was also for a faith. Not communism but Stalinism was what he wanted to condemn.

Neither Stalin nor America conceived that there might be a difference. Both sides insisted that a man could only be totally for or totally against both. It angered Krivitsky that his disclosures were indeed made to serve those he had always considered enemies of the revolution, but it was not possible to trace a subtle path.

What he had to tell the American public was truly sensational. He told of large-scale Communist counterfeiting of American money to finance propaganda in this country, Communist forgeries and fakes to set the Moscow show trials, Communist terror and murder and conspiracy. Most startling of all, he told in 1938 that Stalin had ordered Communist collusion with Nazis on several occasions and had been seeking an agreement with Hitler steadily since 1934.

Only the most active, almost professional anti-Communists were able to believe that. It was a devastating charge, too distressing for the credulity even of those who had no sympathy at all for communism but were determined to awaken this country to the evil of Nazism.

The existence of two, ostensibly opposed, wicked leaders in the world seemed too much to swallow. If Hitler were bad, Stalin, whom he attacked, must be good. If Stalin were bad, how could people be aroused against Hitler?

That was the reasoning of many honest people, or rather it was the emotional urge that suppressed clear reasoning. It led not only to a tolerance of Communist sympathies in the government and intellectual society, but to an irritated intolerance of those who denigrated communism.

### A Commie Target

ALL THROUGH the thirties, the despair of the depression and the doubts it nurtured about the competence of the democratic system in modern society had tightened the lines on both sides of the ideological tug-of-war in America. There, was no climate

for objective assessment of facts. On each side, there was an identification of bad guys and all the others were accepted as more or less good, regardless of actual behavior.

The dominant voices of Washington had correctly identified the wickedness of Nazism and did not want to blur the danger signal with undertones. The effect tended to separate anti-Nazi and anti-Communists and make each more strident in their efforts to register the more impressively.

American Communists organized deliberately to promote this effect. They scornfully attacked even those who made moderate criticisms of communism, Russia and Stalin. Krivitsky, who knew names and dates and places with exactitude, was a serious setback and therefore a major target.

It was all the worse for them that his revelations were trumpeted across the country by the Saturday Evening Post at its most sensational, rather than in some dusty polemical pamphlet which might have satisfied Krivitsky. An answer was inescapable.

At first, the Daily Worker and the New Masses insisted that Krivitsky simply did not exist. He was, they argued, an invention of the extreme right devilishly concocted to spread lies about the left. But he did exist. He gave newspaper interviews, had a picture taken.

Then the Communist papers announced that he had invented himself, that he was really only Schmeltz Ginsberg, "a well-known habitue Paris cafes" but never a Soviet agent let alone an intelligence chief. They paid \$25,000 from the Saturday Evening Post was made to sound a proof of venality. The arguments did not erase Krivitsky from the scene, but they succeeded in giving him a highly distasteful, suspect aura.

In the public print, he lost reality as a man and became a windy controversy. Somehow, he couldn't make facts weigh, only the fury that surrounded them. It was an ironic contradiction of the sharp-edged, hard-minded man he was.

### Friendships Sour

OTHER EXILES who might have shared his attitudes quarreled with him, partly no doubt out of envy for the money and attention he won in a country that ignored their own particular abilities. He was hard to befriend, convinced by his own success that he knew best how to conduct his affairs and cynically mistrustful from terrible experience.

Eventually, Krivitsky broke with both Paul Wohl and Isaac Don Levine, his early collaborators. His intense brilliance was fascinating but it was not set in amiability; his agile mind could not absorb the public and private briefings without reaction.

Krivitsky could find no way to cope with the transformation of his public personality produced by the American style of political infighting. His defenders sounded as wild and woolly as his attackers. Congressmen were persuaded to denounce him and inquire why he had been allowed to enter the United States. With such prodding, the Immigration Service prepared to deport him.

Krivitsky went to Louis Waldman, twice Socialist candidate for governor of New York and famed as a labor lawyer, a persistent, frisky terrier of a counselor. Whether or not an explicit deal was made, the deportation order was dropped and Krivitsky agreed to testify before Rep. Martin Dies' House Committee on Un-American Activities.

He wasn't eager to do it, it only increased his problem of getting a sober hearing for his facts. But it answered his urgent need to assure a place for his family and himself in the United States.

The testimony, read now, is startling in its empty insignificance. Krivitsky must have felt as Einstein would have if he had been solemnly asked to put on public record the sum of 2 and 2. He knew so much of subtle ploys and plots; all the Congressmen kept asking him, during a day of testimony, was to confirm that the Kremlin ran the Comintern and Stalin ran the Kremlin.

At the time, of course, many Americans refused to believe that the Communist Party of the United States actually listened to Moscow's commands; that the Comintern was not merely a loose confederation of like-minded but quite independent political parties in various countries which happened to include the world's only Communist state. Krivitsky simply said that these things, as obvious and elementary to him as his own face in the mirror, were true, and he volunteered nothing.

There was something more he wanted, however, than just the right to stay in the country. He wanted protection. Once in New York, he ran across a Soviet agent he had known named Sergei Basoff, a husky red-headed former sailor from the Crimea. It was in a cafeteria on 42d Street, something of a rendezvous for QGPU men in the United States, as it turned out.

Basoff was with several others who followed ominously. Krivitsky was scared. He knew of Soviet kidnappings in Paris, of the Reiss murder, of the American woman Julia Stuart Poyntz who vanished outside her New York hotel one day and of the way a drugged man could be smuggled aboard a Soviet ship and disappear forever.

With cunning, Krivitsky maneuvered Basoff into following him to the New York Times building nearby. There he had a friend who summoned half a dozen other friends. For a time, Krivitsky talked there with Basoff, who revealed that Antonina Krivitsky's brothers, both engineers and Communists, had been executed along with the rest of her family in Leningrad because they were related to defectors.

When Basoff left, his unidentified companions kept guard at the entrance to the New York Times. It took a whole conspiratorial arrangement carried out many hours later to spirit Krivitsky away to a friend's apartment. There he spent most of the night, waiting until he could be sure that there was no one to observe him going to Riverside Drive, where he lived under a false name.

There were other encounters. Sometimes Krivitsky called the police; they could do nothing for him. It had been better in France, where his sponsor Leon Blum had made sure he was protected. He knew he needed some official backing.

### Dovetailed With Chambers

MEANWHILE, his prediction of a Nazi-Soviet pact came stunningly true, and a few days later, Europe was at war. Both his lawyer Louis Waldman and his collaborator Isaac Don Levine realized that Krivitsky could help the cause of the West and so help himself by establishing a claim for concern about his safety. They went about arranging contacts for him separately.

Levine introduced Krivitsky to Whitaker Chambers, a former Soviet agent in the United States who had quit and gone to work for Time magazine but had not spoken publicly of his underground existence. It was an exciting meeting.

The two men sat in Levine's apartment exchanging experiences, discovering as they went along that again and again one had the missing pieces to the other's jigsaw puzzle. They found, comparing dates and places and descriptions and plots, that they knew a number of the same agents though often by different names.

Long after midnight, Levine went to bed and left them talking. When he

woke the next morning, not early, they were still at it. Much that had seemed mysterious looked clearer.

That led to another meeting, less famous, and lighted a fuse that eventually exploded into the McCarr period. It fits later in the story. But the first Krivitsky-Chambers session was an important element in what developed because Levine saw that the men, who had worked for Moscow quite independently of each other, confirmed key parts of each other's knowledge.

### A White House Link

WALDMAN WENT ABOUT getting Krivitsky to help the United States quite differently. He had known Franklin D. Roosevelt well from President's days in New York State politics; he had friends on the White House staff. He told Krivitsky he would do everything possible to help him immigration papers and American protection, but on condition that Krivitsky agreed to do all he could for the United States.

A session was arranged at the State Department. Ruth Shipley, a willful woman whom Roosevelt once publicly called an ogre, headed the Passport Division and kept thousands of many albums of passport photographs submitted by people whose activities or identities she thought questionable.

Krivitsky was told to go through the album and point out any pictures he recognized. There were a number of people he had known as Soviet agents and he gave details of when and where he'd met them. He didn't even finish through one book that day. When the session was over, Waldman went privately to State to check on the performance.

"They told me he was candid and correct," Waldman said much later. "The information jibed with what the Department knew." But the session hadn't begun to plumb the crowd depths of Krivitsky's knowledge. A second meeting was arranged a week or two later. After that, Waldman checked again and was satisfied that Krivitsky had done poorly, claiming withholding and disguising information.

"I went back to the hotel and asked Krivitsky why he'd changed. He warned him that if he didn't cooperate fully, I'd have nothing more to do with him. He was angry."

"He said that there was no use in lying to the American Government. He was in confidence because it was sloppy about security and so he combined with agents that every time he'd said the first time had got him out of Moscow within 48 hours. I asked



how he knew. He wouldn't tell, but whatever he'd learned had certainly convinced him," Waldman said.

Despite his desire not to hurt friends on the other side whom he still considered innocent and his contempt for American security, Krivitsky was fully cooperative in at least one circumstance that he thought vital. While they were working together, he told ~~Lease~~ Don

Levine and Waldman of one and perhaps two Soviet agents in key positions in Britain.

An appointment was made with Loy Henderson, an Assistant Secretary of State. Henderson passed Krivitsky on to the British Embassy. The Marquis of Lothian was Ambassador.

As Don Levine had feared, the first meeting went badly. The elegant British diplomat was not impressed with the unpolished little Russian. Henderson intervened to suggest with great politeness that Krivitsky might be worth listening to. In the meantime, the embassy had made a routine check with London and discovered to its surprise that Krivitsky was right on enough points to be taken seriously.

There was, he said, a leak in the Cabinet Defense Committee, the most secret group at the summit of Britain's war effort. Since the Hitler-Stalin deal was in effect, there was a danger that Moscow would promptly forward to Berlin the secrets flowing daily out of London. Had it gone on, it could have cost Britain the war in the terrible year when she was fighting Germany alone.

The British asked Krivitsky to come to London. He was leery. He told Waldman he didn't trust the Neville Chamberlain government not to make a deal

with Stalin if the time came, and then to throw him in as lagniappe.

The political way his mind worked led him to seek political protection in Britain before he ventured there. It was arranged by Waldman with the late Herbert Morrison, then a prominent figure in the British Labor Party.

### A Canadian Detour

THE UNITED STATES, not then at war, was uneasy about Krivitsky's being sent on the mission directly from American soil. A second arrangement was made whereby Krivitsky would spend some time in Canada and obtain there a regular immigration visa for his later return to the United States.

Boris Shub, a young Russian-speaking American, went along to use the time reworking the Saturday Evening Post articles into a book, "In Stalin's Secret Service," which was published by Harper in 1936. The Royal Cana-

dian Mounted Police provided the screening that Krivitsky ~~felt~~ necessary for his safety.

The British sneaked him from Canada to England on a warship. As a result of his help in London, the British arrested a man named Charles King, a code clerk with access to the most crucial documents. The wartime trial and conviction were only announced several years later.

Krivitsky also described another agent in the British Foreign Office, a dashing Scotsman given to smoking a pipe and sometimes wearing a kilt. The clues were insufficient. What details Krivitsky had given seemed to fall into place years after the war, however, when Donald MacLean defected to Moscow with his Foreign Office friend Guy Burgess and a still uncertain number of valuable British and American secrets.

Krivitsky proved to be a productive defector in England, and he was adequately guarded there. He was asked to stay, but he had his heart set on settling down in the United States. In America, though, there is no indication that he ever did give much.

One night spent walking the Long Island seashore and pouring out tales to David Shub, father of his collaborator Boris, Krivitsky went on at length about the dangers to which he was exposed. Shub tried to soothe him, saying, "But why should you still be afraid? Why should Stalin be after you now? After all, you've already told everything and nothing further can make a difference."

"Oh, no," Krivitsky said. "I haven't told the most important."

### Officially Unplumbed

A PART FROM his reluctance to tell, he was not officially asked. The Dies Committee only sought a kindergarten description of the international Communist hierarchy. The FBI didn't bother with Krivitsky. It had only begun to be interested in subversives and was still concentrating on racketeers and gunmen like Al Capone and Dillinger. To the extent that it made even a passing effort at counter-intelligence, it was Nazi agents that the FBI was after.

There was no CIA or anything of the sort. Army and Navy Intelligence went after strictly military matters of direct interest to each service, not co-operating and sometimes competing. The State Department accepted information brought to it, but had no investigative branch.

It is hard to resist the speculation that the sensitivity still surrounding the Government's secret Krivitsky files is much less because of what they contain than because they contain so little that mattered.

The whole approach to security and intelligence at that time was "primitive," in the word of former Secretary of State Dean Acheson. In view of the general state of affairs, the casual treatment given Krivitsky was not so surprising.

The situation in the State Department was not improved by personal feuds already developing into political vendettas. Adolf Berle was then the State Department officer in charge of liaison with military intelligence. He had been a child prodigy, and as a teenager at Harvard Law School he had offended Felix Frankfurter, then a leading professor.

The mutual distaste lasted and spread, even more virulently, to Dean Acheson, who was a devoted admirer of Frankfurter's. People took sides in the State Department and the quarrel reached into the White House.

Berle's assignment carried with it a hostile sensitivity to Soviet behavior, a traditional attitude among old hands in State. Acheson's assignment, involved in supporting Britain against Germany and later, on President Roosevelt's orders, in helping Russia buy supplies in this country, tugged him the other way.

Even during the Nazi-Soviet pact, a number of people in State believed that eventually Stalin would have to fight strength. The atmosphere was abrasive. Hitler and that it was therefore important to help the Russians build up. There were sharp quarrels over daily decisions and a certain amount of intrigue in the attempt to influence them. An early example came in training

President Roosevelt's statement on the Soviet Union's digestion of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia after the Hitler-Stalin partition of Poland. Fast footwork by Loy Henderson, James Dunn and then Under Secretary Sumner Welles got an official denunciation out of the White House before others in State could water it down. But it was followed by an internal tug-of-war over whether the Baltic States' assets in the United States should be handed over to the Russians as Moscow was demanding.

Nobody succeeded in establishing an orderly system of policy priorities that sustained the basic aim of opposing Hitler—and still left room for what seemed conflicting decisions on the

merits of immediate questions. It wasn't so much that Krivitsky was frozen out of the picture; he just never got in.

The situation he confronted was demonstrated even more clearly when, in 1941, Isaac Don Levine arranged a meeting between Whittaker Chambers and Adolf Berle. Chambers, reinforced by the details he had learned from Krivitsky, recited a story of spy rings within the United States Government and provided a series of names. One of them was Alger Hiss.

There were other respected officials. It was an explosive charge with much substantiating circumstance. Berle took it to the White House. Nobody paid any attention. There was no investigation. The incident was forgotten until it was brought out in the postwar cross-fire of charges and countercharges that led to the Hiss trial.

In the McCarthy period that followed, deliberate suppression was charged. But the atmosphere at the time of the Chambers-Berle meeting makes it more likely that the Berle memorandum was simply brushed off as a part of the continuing game of push and pull in the State Department, not to be taken seriously. The Acheson side automatically supposed that there would be something fishy in anything that came from Berle, and vice versa.

### The Other Extreme

THE HAPHAZARD concern for security, the personal animosities, the emotional frenzy stirred for Russia once the U.S.S.R. and the United States became allies in war—this immoderate background was doubtless an important factor in swinging the pendulum wildly to the other extreme when World War II had ended and the cold war was at its height. Looking back, the McCarthyites decided that there must have been conspiracies because so much carelessness seemed incredible in the new post-war awareness of intelligence operations.

There had been espionage and Communist penetration of the Government without doubt. Those germs of substance were multiplied into a national fever because they were so difficult to trace in the general mush of the period that had harbored them. According to their temperament, people concluded either that the whole culture was tainted or that it had always been pure.

Emotion gave credibility on a basis of very few facts in the McCarthy period, just as it had denied credibility on a basis of very many facts in the period of Stalin's purges. Krivitsky happened to speak at the wrong time, to be heard in earnest. He even died at the wrong time to be buried in

By early 1941, he was back in the United States and out of ~~steam~~. He had quarreled with his collaborators and exhausted the fraction of revelations he was prepared to make. Still reading the papers and watching European developments closely, he hoped to put his penetrating mind and burden of experience to use as a foreign affairs analyst. Columns are not so easily come by. He began to cast about for a new start in life.

~~His~~ friends Etel and Marguerite

Dobert had established themselves on a farm near Charlottesville. They had only a few hundred dollars to begin. It was a pioneering struggle, but they were making a life, and they were at peace.

There were prospects, too. Dobert had become a lecturer at the nearby University of Virginia. Krivitsky was attracted by the idea. He began to talk about moving with his wife and child to join the Doberts, and work the farm in partnership.

### Two Open Attempts

THERE WAS SOME urgency in considering the move. Twice since he had been in the United States, there had been what he considered open OGPU attempts to surround and then, no doubt, to kill him. On other occasions, he had grounds for suspicion.

Once he had called Loy Henderson at the State Department to say that he was in danger, and was told to get in touch with the New York police. The police were, in effect, willing enough to hold a nervous foreigner's hand if he dropped into a precinct station, but they were neither able nor willing to give regular protection.

Then in early 1941, Krivitsky received a message that set him shiver-

ing with fright. He took it to his lawyer, Louis Waldman, on Jan. 6. It was addressed to his friend Suzanne Lafollette, who had handed it on. The message read:

"Will you please inform your honorable friend K. that an ominous person is in New York: Hans . . . K's devious practices hardly justify this warning. I hesitate to send it. It may be better to let the rats devour each other."

The note was from Paul Wohl, bitter over his quarrel with Krivitsky, which had been primarily about money, but still aware of his former friend's danger.

The reference to Hans meant Hans Bruesse, the Dutchman who had once worked for Krivitsky and twice before had tried to kill him. Wohl had seen Bruesse boarding a bus on a Manhattan street. There was no question of identity, he was sure. He had known

the Dutchman well in the days when Bruesse was a favorite at Krivitsky headquarters in The Hague.

Krivitsky was just as sure, when he received the warning, that Bruesse sudden and no doubt illegal appearance in the United States was to fulfill the old mission. An OGPU agent who had failed twice was bound to be serious trouble himself, redeemable only by final success.

Krivitsky began to talk about buying a gun to protect himself. Waldman pointed out that in New York or New Jersey, he would have to get a permit

Living under an assumed name, more than ever eager to hide his track

Krivitsky fumed and said he would think it over.

Without telling Waldman, he found out that no permit was necessary in Virginia, but he did say that he was going there to arrange to buy a far. Waldman insisted that the reluctant Russian testify before a New York legislative committee investigating communism in the schools, and Krivitsky wanted the appearance date postponed until after the Virginia trip. His hearing was set for Monday, Feb. 10.

The Friday before, he took the train south. He stopped off in Washington to see Loy Henderson, mentioning new fears and his decision to buy a gun for self-defense. Then he went on to the farm near Charlottesville.

The Doberts listened to his explanations and answered his unending stream of questions, but they could help feeling dubious.

"I just couldn't see Walter as a chicken farmer," Marguerite said later. "He was a total intellectual, just the type."

Krivitsky was a man without hobbies, without interest in sports, nature, in the use of his hands or for the pleasure of it. It was the business that did all his working and living. He went on endlessly about the farm, the chores, the cost.

All that remained to settle the debt, he said, was for his wife Tonya to have a look and give her agreement. Tonya and their son Alek, then 6, had stayed behind in New York that weekend.

Krivitsky went on about his plans late into the night. Tired from day's work, the Doberts went to bed, but after a short time, Krivitsky knocked on their door. He had a headache and couldn't sleep, he said.

Marguerite, a tall, warm woman of great practical competence and strong good cheer, handed him some aspirin and writing paper from behind the door. She wished him goodnight.

But her guest was restless. The morning he told them that he

couldn't sleep after writing his letters and had gone for a walk in the woods. He spoke appreciatively of the countryside, especially the isolation. It's safe and peaceful here, he told the Doberts.

"He was nervous," Marguerite said later, "but then he always was. Afterward, I couldn't help thinking that I should have noticed more carefully whether there was something wrong. But I didn't. I didn't think of anything. He was the usual high-strung Walter."

### Target Practice

SATURDAY MORNING, Krivitsky and Marguerite Dobert drove into Charlottesville. They went to a hardware store and bought a gun without any difficulty. Later, the clerk identified the gun as the one found in the hotel room and he identified Mrs. Dobert and a photograph of Krivitsky as the customers who had bought it.

For some reason never brought out, he sold mushroom bullets as ammunition instead of ordinary bullets, unusual for sale to a person explaining that he lived in a wilderness and needed something to protect himself. When he spoke about the gun, according to all those who heard him, Krivitsky talked only in terms of his urgent need for self-protection after the warning he had received.

The next day, Marguerite Dobert drove Krivitsky back to Washington so he could catch a train. He mentioned his appointment in New York on Monday morning. She took a wrong turning on the way and for a time they wandered about country roads. Later, she remembered that as evidence that they had not been followed because she would have noticed another car on the back roads.

Before she dropped him at the corner of Union Station, she asked Krivitsky if he wanted her to mail the letters he had mentioned writing late Friday night. He said he would look after them

himself. She asked him if he had remembered his "artillery." He patted the canvas bag that was his only luggage and said it was in there.

Krivitsky asked her whether Union Station, like railroad stations in most big European cities, had facilities for travelers to bathe. There was no running water on the farm and he wanted to clean up while he was waiting for the next New York train. She didn't know the answer.

But she did know, looking back, that it was an altogether normal conversation with every sign that Krivitsky was intent only on boarding the train, no sign that he had other plans.

But he never left Washington. He went to the Bellevue Hotel, a five-

minute walk from the station. No one knows whether he went there directly or entered the station first and then changed his mind. No one knows whether he saw someone in or around the station who frightened him.

The Bellevue had no record of his making any telephone calls from his room. Its residents and staff paid no special attention to the man who registered as Walter Poref until the maid called the housekeeper to his room the next morning.

No photographs were taken in the hotel room to establish the trajectory of the bullet; no effort was taken to recover the bullet from the wall; no fingerprints were sought. All this was common practice when there was any suspicion of crime. But the immediate police assumption was that they were dealing with a clear-cut case of suicide, and the coroner took their word for it that afternoon.

### A Question of Style

THAT EVENING, however, Louis Waldman, Tonya Krivitsky and other people spoke out to challenge the verdict. Waldman hurried to Washington. It was too late to seek evidence at the scene of Krivitsky's death; everything had been tidied.

There was no doubt that Krivitsky had died with his brains blown out, but no absolute proof that the gun found in his room was the weapon used nor that he and no one else had pulled the trigger. All that was left was the body, the three notes and the long Krivitsky story with its heavily charged undertones.

The notes looked self-explanatory to the police, but to people who knew Krivitsky, they looked strange in many details. It was his handwriting, all right, and it was on the same kind of paper that the Doberts had given him at their Virginia farm. But the style was not quite typical of Krivitsky.

Each note carried a sentence beneath the signature. He had never been a man to write postscripts, a man to have afterthoughts. All who knew him agreed that he always was clear in his mind on what he wanted to say and stopped when he had said it.

Each P.S. mentioned third persons. The note to Waldman had an added item referring to the Doberts, though not by name. The note to Suzanne Lafollette mentioned her brother and sister-in-law, though they scarcely knew Krivitsky. He was a man thoroughly trained to recognize the implications of involvement in scandal. It was odd that he should drag the names of irrelevant people into his personal tragedy.

Even more inexplicable to his intimates was the vague, allusive tone of the notes. They said nothing specific about any intention of killing himself or why. The nearest they came to a self-justification that is the one constant to expect in suicide notes was general reference to the inescapable obligation to "go." Only the note to his wife Tonya went that far. It said:

"This is very difficult and I want to live very badly, but it is impossible to love you, my only one. It is difficult for me to write, but think about me and then you will understand that I must go. Don't tell Alex yet where his father is gone. I believe that in time you will tell him because it is best for him. Forgive, it is very hard to write. Take care of him and be a good mother to him, and be always quiet and never get angry at him.

"He is very good, and always very pale. Good people will help you, but not enemies. I think my friends are better. I see you, Tonya and Alex. I embrace you. Vela.

"P.S. On the farm of Dobertov I wrote this yesterday, but I did not have any strength in New York. I do not have any business in Washington. I went to see Dobertov because that was the only place I could get the firearm.

It had been written in Russian. Mrs. Krivitsky challenged the police translation as soon as she saw the notes. Instead of rendering the first sentence to suggest that Krivitsky found "impossible" to live, she said, a correct translation would be:

"It is very difficult but I want very badly to live, but to live is no longer allowed me."

### Inference of Coercion

THE LOGIC of the situation and the man seemed to dictate that legitimate suicide notes would have read quite differently, with some mention of the OGPU's hounding him, his disillusionment with Moscow, his problem in creating a new life in the United States. If Krivitsky did choose to kill himself, these were doubtless the reasons, and he was not given to cryptic or fuzzy expressions.

Of course, a man's state of mind contemplating suicide is likely enough to be illogical. No certain deduction could be made from the notes. But their very oddness served to convince his wife and other intimates that he had been cunning to the end.

The notes read, they felt, as if Krivitsky had been forced to write them and had cannily found words to

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forms that would reveal mortal blackmail to the addressees but not to the blackmailer, however astute he might be.

"I believe," the widow told the press, "the letter (to her) was written under coercion. The OGPU had threatened that they would kidnap or harm me and our child unless he did what they directed—kill himself. He made this bargain because of his great love for us. But he was murdered in this fashion just as surely as though they had pulled the trigger of the gun."

Waldman argued passionately for an FBI investigation. It was refused on the ground that a possible murder in the District of Columbia was not a Federal but a local crime and that jurisdiction rested entirely with the Metropolitan Police. The lawyer pointed out that Krivitsky had been and was likely to have continued to be a witness before congressional committees and grand juries, and that could have been a proper basis for an FBI investigation.

After 24 hours of hullabaloo in the press and a Congressman's speech exploring inefficient, negligent police work on the case, the Washington police reluctantly reopened it. They interviewed the maid, the housekeeper, the bellboy and the hotel manager though not, apparently, the guests in the rooms adjacent to Krivitsky.

They checked the empty shell found on the floor and confirmed that it was fired from Krivitsky's .38. It was too late to look for fingerprints on the gun. It had been covered with blood when the police first arrived and had been cleaned in the meantime.

### Invented a Telegram

**R**EPORTERS TRACKED DOWN Mrs. Dobert on her farm. She had first learned of Krivitsky's death from the Tuesday morning papers at her friend's house in Washington, where she had spent the night after leaving Krivitsky at the station. At first she refused to believe it, still sure that he had returned to New York the previous Sunday. But there was his picture and photostats of the notes in his handwriting.

Distraught and bewildered, she invented for her hostess a telegram from her husband asking her to come home quickly. She drove off without a word about the affair. But when it came out that she had brought Krivitsky to Washington and was one of the last to see him, her evidence was sought.

Detective Chief Bernard W. Thompson reported to the press that "now, as before, we are convinced that Krivitsky killed himself." The Washington Post

reporter added in his account. "Thompson stressed the words 'as before,' emphasizing that almost from the moment he was found . . . investigators have deemed the death a suicide." The police were smarting under the charge of inexcusably sloppy work when the body was found.

The only thing Mrs. Dobert was able to say to repeated questions about Krivitsky's state of mind when she left him, and about clues to his intentions from his behavior over the weekend, was: "He did tell me, 'If anything should happen to me, look after Alex and Tonya.' That was on the drive back to Washington on Sunday. I said, 'Don't be silly, Walter. Nothing will happen to you.' He didn't argue with that. He was calm and cheerful, still full of plans about the farm."

### Ideological Debate

**T**HE REAFFIRMED coroner's verdict did not end the excited public argument. Pressed again, the FBI said that it "did not and is not going to investigate the case." The spokesman was S. J. Tracy in the office of J. Edgar Hoover, who did not personally make a public comment or agree to receive Waldman.

Newspapers with strong anti-Communist editorial policies kept up the clamor for a few days, reviewing some of Krivitsky's life and other cases of OGPU assassinations beyond Soviet borders. Newspapers with strong leftist editorial policies answered derisively.

Ben Hecht wrote in PM: "Swinging Roman candles over its head, blowing smoke out of its ears, complete with electric-lighted nose, fright wig and fire gong hitched to its fanny, the Press is galumphing up and down the highways looking for the scoundrel who murdered that darling man, Gen. Walter Krivitsky . . . The point and purpose of the Rumpelstiltskin manhunt is to blow up the deviltries of Stalinism and allow Moscow, rather than Berlin, to frighten the pants off everybody . . ."

"The Red Menace being pumped out of the comatose Krivitsky is on your corner newsstand. And the presses printing it are not being supervised by OGPU and Gestapo chieftains, knout in hand. It is, nevertheless, as giddy an example of the cynical contempt for readers' intelligence as ever came over the short waves from Europe . . ."

Ralph Ingersoll, also in PM, poured scorn on the fuss and asked with righteous indignation why Krivitsky's death deserved more attention than the seven lines reporting the suicide of a Brooklyn clothing worker on

the same day. "Where is our conscience . . .?" he demanded. "What treacherous OGPU lives in us that we must accept and take into our hearts any dirty rat . . .?"

### A Belated Interest

**T**HEN THE EXCHANGES of vituperation shifted to other topics other news. Nobody reported seeing Hans Bruesse again. Twenty-five years later, intelligence services in the United States and Western Europe would, in the words of one official, "give an eyetooth to find him." They no longer doubt his existence.

After the war, the FBI did develop an interest in the Krivitsky case and its implications. It began collecting a file which is still secret. Suicide is no longer a firmly held official judgment. But neither has any new evidence emerged to prove that Krivitsky was murdered, by another or by his own hand under threat of dire harm to his wife and the son he adored.

The boy has grown up now and an engineer living a normal life under another name. The widow, who also uses another name, still lives in New York, ill after all the years of desperate struggle to earn a living and protect her son. They are no longer afraid, but they have had nothing more to do with politics since that February day in 1941.

The proof of exactly what happened must lie in Soviet police archives, more secret even than the guarded FBI and CIA files on the case, for whether the OGPU engineered Krivitsky's death simply sat by and won its goal without exertion, reports had to be made.

But even as a riddle, Krivitsky's story illuminated a period and sanguine aftermath. The frenzy of the postwar Communist hunts had roots in the prewar propaganda battle and the lackadaisical unconcern for security in those days.

Nobody responsible then bothered much with the kind of problem Krivitsky evoked. Then, as now, men shouted at each other to advance their arguments. Few looked to the other hand.



Harris & Ewing Photo

*Adolf Berle, whose warnings about Russian spies were ignored, leaves the White House in 1938 when he was an Assistant Secretary of State.*



Associated Press Photo

*Whittaker Chambers and Krivitsky fitted pieces in each other's puzzles.*

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Washington Post Photo

Attorney Louis Waldman, center, rushed to the morgue to view Walter Krivitsky's body and claim he was murdered.



Alexander Kerensky, former leader of Russia, was convinced that Stalin agents murdered Krivitsky.



A police file photo of Walter Krivitsky with his real name scribbled on the side.

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